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LĪLĀTILAKAM ON MALAYĀḶAM INFLEXIONS

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

The fourteenth-century treatise, Līlātilakam, has, in its second śilpa, sixteen sūtras dealing with Malayāḷam inflexions, both nominal and verbal. Though the treatment is neither exhaustive nor even adequate in some respects, there are data which illuminate the past history of Malayāḷam. Here, as in other sections of the grammatical portion of the work, full recognition is accorded to the individuality of the west coast speech, even while the closeness of its affinities to Tamil is envisaged. It is the language of maṇipravāḷa literature that is discussed, and therefore a number of purely traditionary forms come in for treatment; but the language of conversation and the living linguistic peculiarities of the Malayāḷam of the fourteenth century are not ignored. In a work dealing with the maṇipravāḷa type of composition, the influence of Sanskrit is admitted; but, refreshingly enough, in many places, the work rules out blind servility to the rules of Sanskrit syntax.

Śilpa II—Sūtras 9 and 10

In these sūtras introducing the subject of Malayāḷam inflexions, the existence in Malayāḷam of eight cases, three genders and two numbers is stated.

The classification of the cases into eight types is Dravidian : *cf.* the rule of Tolkāppiyam (the oldest extant grammar of Tamil): *Viḷi koḷvadaṉkaṉ viḷiyōḍ-eṭṭē* "the cases number eight, along with the vocative."

2. So far as the classification of genders and numbers is concerned, the one adopted in Līlātilakam does not correspond to the Tamil division of 'uyartiṇai' (group constituted of rational beings) and 'aḫḏiṇai' (non-rationals including inanimates), 'uyartiṇai' itself being subdivided into 'āṇpal' (masculine singular), 'peṇpāl' (feminine singular) and 'palarpāl' (rational plural), and 'aḫḏiṇai' having two sub-divisions 'oṉḏaṉpāl' (non-rational singular) and 'palaviṉpāl' (non-rational plural).

This old classification of Tamil is fundamental in Malayāḷam also, since the personal endings of Old Malayāḷam verb-forms (so far as these personal endings occur) evidence the distinctions inherent in the old classification.

Līlātilakam itself adverts to a feature of this old classification when it observes in the commentary on sūtra 14 that "the second case ending only optionally appears in forms denoting inanimates and irrationals."

Sūtra 11

This is a fairly comprehensive sūtra dealing with the morphology of Malayāḷam inflexions and offering some observations on the syntax of cases.

1. The sūtra states the names of the 'vibhaktis' referred to in the previous sūtra and describes them as 'eight' in number :

"pēr, e, ōḍu, kku, niṉḏu, uḍe, viḷityaṣṭakam."

The commentary points out that while 'pēr' and 'viḷi' in the sūtra are 'ārthau,' the others are 'śābdāḥ'.

The form and the purpose of the Līlātilakam sūtra may be compared to the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram rule:

"peyar, ai, oḍu, ku, in, adu, kaṇ, viḷiyennum itta.

The Tolkāppiyam rule has been interpreted by all commentarians (except Teyvaccilaiyār) as giving the names of the 'vibhaktis', and there too 'peyar' and 'viḷi' have been taken as indicating the meanings.

2. "The 'first' case' is the 'prātipadika,' and it is called 'pēr'," says the commentary.

Here one may recall Cēnāvaraiyar's interpretation of the Tolkāppiyam rule: "avattuḷ eḻuvāy vēttumai peyar tōndunilaiyē."

3. The Malayāḷam second case ending *e* is marked off in the commentary from Tamil *ai*, and the augments in forms like *maratte*, *marattine*, *āṉaye* etc. are pointed out as corresponding to Tamil 'cāriyai'.

(*a*) Very interesting syntactical observations follow. "The force of the second case ending of Malayāḷam is to make the object 'nirvarttya', 'vikārya', 'prāpya', and not to denote 'space' and 'duration of time'; nor are second case forms dependent upon 'upapadas'."

Conceivable Malayāḷam usages like *divasatte nindān* (where duration of time is denoted by the second case form), and *nētratte kuruḷēyum naḍuvē cilli* "the eyebrow between the eyes and the curls" (where the second case forms *nētratte* and *kuruḷe* are made dependent upon *naḍuvē*, in imitation of Sanskrit usages like those where the indeclinable *antarā* governs second case forms) are disapproved.

Similarly, the commentary points out the unsuitability in

Malayāḷam of a construction like *grāmatte āvasikkundōn* where (in imitation of Sanskrit) the verb *āvasikkundōn* governs a second case form.

(*b*) The terms[1] 'nirvarttya', 'vikārya' and 'prāpya' associated with the second case object, are used by Sanskrit treatises and adapted in Tamil by some of the Tamil commentarians of Tolkāppiyam. Both Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar use more or less the same language: "iyattappaḍuvadum, vēṟupaḍukkappaḍuvadum, eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappaḍuporuḷ mūndām."

The seventeenth century Prayōgavivēka points out the resemblance in the following terms:

"ini vākkiyapadīyattuḷḷum, kaiyaḍattuḷḷum, nirvarttiyam, vikāriyam, pirāppiyam enakkūṟiyavaṇṇam Cēnāvaraiyar mudalāyinōr iyattappaḍuvadum vēṟupaḍukkappaḍuvadum eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappaḍuporuḷai mūndākkuvar . . . . Nannūlārum ākkal, aḻidal, aḍaidal cainendran madam patti palavākkuvar."

4. The third case endings of Malayāḷam are *ōḍu* (the only one mentioned in the sūtra but referred to in the commentary as 'upalakṣaṇa'), and *āl* and the postposition *koṇḍu* (the two latter mentioned by the commentary).

(*a*) The observation of the commentary that in third case forms like *avan-e-k-koṇḍu*, the *e* is *not* a second case ending but only 'sandhāyaka' has to be understood as implying that in third case forms like these, the third case meaning alone is important and that the element *e* preceding *koṇḍu* need not be isolated as being originally the second case ending.

(*b*) While *ōḍu* and *āl* are equally important as third case endings in Malayāḷam, why is *ōḍu* alone mentioned in the sūtra and then

1. The Kannada Grammar Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa uses these terms in the sūtra treating about the force of the second case ending. It also refers to 'kāla' and 'adhvā' in Kannada as being expressed in the second case.

described in the commentary as an 'upalakṣaṇa'? I suspect that the model of the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram sūtra which mentions only *oḍu* as the third case ending for Tamil though *oḍu* and *āṉ* were both current, might have influenced the author of Līlātilakam who (be it observed here) was a keen student of this Old Tamil grammar and some of its earlier commentaries. It is noteworthy that later Tamil grammars like Vīracōḻiyam, Nēmīnādam and Naṉṉūl mention both *oḍu* (and *ōḍu*) and *āl* (and *āṉ*) as equally important in the sūtras themselves.

(*c*) *Ōḍu*, with long *ō*, is the common form in Malayāḷam, though *oḍu* appears occasionally in poetry. The thirteenth century Nēmīnādam expressly refers to *ōḍu* as a 'development' of *oḍu*.

(*d*) In Old Tamil, both *oḍu* and *āṉ* appear to have induced the significations of 'agency', 'instrumentality' and 'association'. Some kind of differentiation of functions may have already started in the Old Tamil period. In later periods, the use of the former seems to have become restricted more and more to 'association' (and allied meanings), while the latter (with its variant *āl*) generally signified 'agency' and 'instrumentality'.

In Malayāḷam this differentiation of functions became common at a very early stage, though rare poetic instances exist like *vēdiyarāl vēdaṅgoṇḍ-iḍaññu* [where *āl* is used with the meaning of 'association'], and *kaḍalōḍu pōyār* [where *ōḍu* has the force of *āl*] cited by Gundert from 'Payyaṉūr pāṭṭu'.

(*e*) Malayāḷam appears to have developed the special signification of 'viyōgaḥ' for *ōḍu*,—a meaning that is common in Tamil only for the fifth case ending. In old Malayāḷam texts like Dūtavākyam, constructions like *lajjayōḍu vēṟupaṭṭ-*, *santāpattōḍu-vēṟūy* and *cētaṉayōḍu piriññ-*, are quite common, though these have ceased to be popular today.

Though the influence of Sanskrit is possible in the popularising of the use of the third case ending in connection with 'viyōgaḥ', it may have had a Dravidian origin.

Just in the same manner as the third case is prescribed by Tolkāppiyam for what it calls *opp-al-opp-urai* in instances involving absence of resemblance, as in *ponnōḍirumbanaiyar ninnōḍu piṟarē*, so too '*absence of accompaniment*' may have been connected with the third case.

5. The fourth case endings of Malayāḷam are those "in *avaḷ-kku*, and *annu innu* as in *avannu*, *adinnu*."

(*a*) *annu* and *innu* are 'false' isolations of the Malayāḷam fourth case ending appearing after nouns and pronouns with the 'rational' singular *n* as the final or after nouns embodying the augment *-in-*. Really, here, after the old *k* had been lost, Malayāḷam had, to start with, a 'samvṛta' *u* which in the course of the history of Malayāḷam become opened out to *-ə-*. The elements *ann* and *inn* in what Līlātilakam isolates as *annu* and *innu* do not really belong to the fourth case ending.

(*b*) The imitation in Malayāḷam of the Sanskrit use of fourth case forms as 'objects' of verb-bases like *kup* is disapproved by the commentary. A Malayāḷam construction like *kāntannu kōpikkindadu kānta* is pointed out as incongruous for Malayāḷam.

6. The commentary points out that Malayāḷam has, for the fifth case, the "endings"*-il-nindu*, *mēl-nindu*,*-pakkal-nindu* and *ēl-nindu*.

(*a*) The commentary expresses disapproval of Malayāḷam imitations of the Sanskrit use of fifth case forms as 'objects' of verbs denoting 'learning' and 'fearing,' as in Malayāḷam constructions like *avangalnindu payatti* "learnt from him" and *puliyingalnindu pēdiccu* "feared (from) the tiger".

So far as verbs denoting 'fear' are concerned, the oldest Tamil grammar allows for such verb-forms the use of objects both in the second case and in the fifth case. Not only is *añjal* "fearing" mentioned in the sūtras dealing with verb-ideas governing the second and the fifth cases, but the alternative government of the second or fifth case forms is expressly pointed out in a special sūtra in the chapter on the merging of cases.

In Malayāḷam itself, old texts show instances of constructions like *cakrattiṅgal ninnu bhayappeṭṭ-* where the verb denoting 'fear' governs a fifth case object.

(*b*) So far as verbs denoting 'learning' are concerned, constructions like *avaṉḏe aḍukkal paṭhiccu* and *avaṉḏe aḍukkalninnu paṭhiccu* are both common today, the former adverting to the teacher from whom instruction has generally been received and the latter to the person from whom a particular piece of instruction has been derived.

(*c*) *ēl-niṉḏu* contains the element *-ēl* which appears in forms like *komb-ēl* (ultimately from *komb-in-mēl*). This *ēl* appears already in tenth century inscriptions: *puraiyiḍattēl* [TAS.]

7. The commentary refers to sixth case endings as "*-uḍe*, *-iḍe*, *-ḏe* and *-ṉṉu*."

(*a*) For the history of the first three, see my EMM.

(*b*) The mention of *-ṉṉu* (which in origin is the Malayāḷam fourth case ending of words with final *-ṉ* or the augment *-iṉ-*, mentioned above) calls for comment.

The use of the fourth case ending for denoting a sixth case signification when 'uyartiṇai' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case forms is already laid down in Tolkāppiyam, which ancient work, however, does not say anywhere that *-ku* is a 'sixth case' ending. This use is adverted to in the chapter on 'Vēṯṯumai mayaṅgiyal', dealing with the 'merging of cases and case-significations'.

In the commentary on the seventh sūtra of Vēṯṯumaippaḍalam of Vīracōḻiyam, Perundēvaṉār refers to *ku* as having a sixth case meaning, only when it is a 'kāraka': "āṟām vēṯṯumai kāragam āgum poḻudu '*ku*' eṉṉum pirattiyam oṉḏē varum ... piragirudigaḷiṉ piṉbu 'ku' eṉṉum ṉālām vēṯṯumaippirattiyam varuvittu . . . kāragapadamākkikkiriyāpadattōḍum kūṭṭi-c-'cāttaṉukku magaṉ āṉāṉ' eṉa muḍikka".

The grammar Nēmīnādam does not refer to *ku* as a "sixth case" ending.[2]

Naṉṉūl, while referring to the use of the affix -*ku* instead of the sixth case ending, does not regard -*ku* as a sixth case ending.

Nor do the commentarians of Tolkāppiyam (except perhaps Iḷambūraṇar) interpret the colladigāram sūtra in such a way as to suggest that -*ku* is a 'sixth case' ending. Their interpretation is that a sixth case compound like *nambi magaṉ* would if resolved become *nambikku āgiya magaṉ*. This interpretation was due to the feeling that sixth case compounds like *nambikku magaṉ* were not very common in Tamil but that generally usage sanctioned only constructions like *nambikk-āgiya magaṉ* or *nambikku magaṉ-āgiyōṉ*.

But already from a fairly early period, compounds like *nambikku magaṉ* and *piṇikku marundu*[3] [as in *piṇikku*

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2. The seventeenth century Prayōgavivēkam (very much influenced by Sanskrit in its outlook and treatment) includes *ku* in the list of sixth case endings in the sūtra, but observes in the commentary that "*ku* which has the meaning of a 'ṣasṭhi pratyaya' confers the force of the sixth case." In a later context however, it adverts to *ku* as the sixth case ending itself.

3. This collocation with a sixth case relationship cannot be justified by the same Tolkāppiyam sūtra that covers instances like *nambikku magaṉ* where 'uyartiṇai' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case form.

marundu piṟa of Kuṟaḷ where *piṇikku* relates to *marundu*] with a sixth force relationship were common.

It is not surprising, therefore, that *-ku* came to be regarded by some as a "sixth case" ending itself.

The correspondence of Sanskrit constructions like *rāmasya putrōsti* to *irāmaṉakku-p-pudalvaṉ uḷaṉ* may also have contributed to the feeling that *-ku* in forms like these may be regarded as a 'sixth case' ending.

So far as Malayāḷam is concerned, Līlātilakam regards it both as a 'fourth case' ending and as a 'sixth case' ending. Bālaprabōdham (written at a later period for Malayāḷi students of Sanskrit) pointedly refers to *-ku* exclusively as a 'sixth case' ending, the 'fourth case' ending being (in its opinion) only *āykkoṇḍu* ("ikkum-iṉṉum-uḍe ṣaṣṭhikku").

Instances like *pāriṉṉu nāthaṉ parīkṣittu* also do occur in Malayāḷam where *pāriṉṉu* is related to *nāthaṉ* and not to the predicate.

(*c*) Constructions in Malayāḷam like *kāṇgaikku pōyi* "went, though (or) while others were observing," in imitation of Sanskrit genitive absolute constructions are condemned by the commentary.

Similarly, imitations in Malayāḷam like *maraṅṅaḷuḍe māvu* "the mango-tree among the trees," in imitation of the Sanskrit use of the ṣaṣṭhi forms for 'nirdhāraṇa', are also condemned by the commentary.

8. Seventh case endings are "*il, iḷē, mēl, kal*".

(*a*) Now, the *il-ē* (as illustrated in *avaṉ-il-ē snēham*) is actually compounded of the locative ending *-il* and *ē* which was a terminative expletive in the older stages of the language but which came to have a "qualificatory" value in forms like *kāṭṭilē*

(of *kāṭṭilē āṉa* "the elephant of the forest"), qualifying the nouns immediately following.

(*b*) Locative absolute constructions in Malayāḷam (in imitation of Sanskrit usage) like *udikkiṉḏa ādityaṉil puṟaṉḏāṉ* "he was born, while the sun was rising" are condemned by the commentary.

9. The eighth case endings are, according to the commentary, "*ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *ē*, as in *mādhavā*, *nambī*, *cārū*, *ivaṉē*, *ivaḷē*, *maramē*, *vaḍiyē*."

(*a*) Among the forms mentioned in the commentary, *mādhavā*, *nambī* and *maramē*, *vaḍiyē* [the last two show the *ē*-ending used for 'aḥḏiṇai' vocatives, according to Tolkāppiyam] follow Old Tamil rules. Uyartiṇai forms with lip-rounded *u* ordinarily remained unchanged in Old Tamil; while vocatives for pronouns like *ivaṉ*, *ivaḷ* are expressly prohibited by all Tamil grammars.

(*b*) The list in the commentary is but a summary one. Instances of other Malayāḷam vocatives occurring in the citations of the commentary are *naṅṅē* (Tamil *naṅgāy*), *tōḷarē*, *ammē*, *tṛkkariyūr-aṉṉalē*. None of these can be justified by Tolkāppiyam rules. Nor can vocatives like *śrēṣṭhaṉmārē* and *dharmajñaṉāyōḷḷōyē* of the fourteenth century Dūtavākyam be supported by Tolkāppiyam rules.

(*c*) In the commentary on the fourth sūtra of the fourth śilpa, the vocatives *candraṉē* and *narēndraṉē* are conservatively condemned, though it must be said that instances like these with the affix *ē* tacked on to words with final rational singular ending *-ṉ* are common both in Middle Tamil and in Malayāḷam even when such forms are not 'muṟaippeyar'.

Indeed, while in Old Tamil (according to the rule in the chapter on vocatives in Tolkāppiyam) the vocatives of rational masculine singulars (with *-ṉ*) took on *ē* only when they were

'muṟaippeyar' or nouns denoting relationship, the practice appears to have been extended to other rational masculine singulars also in later periods. Vīracōḻiyam (in its commentary on the eighth sūtra of Vēṯṯumaippaḍalam) instances vocatives like *irāmaṉ-ē* and *maṉṉaṉē*. Middle Tamil texts like Nācciyārtirumoḻi have forms like *uṇarvāṉ-ē, tuyilvaṉē, kaṇṇaṉē.*

The thirteenth century grammar Nēminādam also cites illustrations of vocatives like *ayaṉ-ē, civaṉ-ē, naḷaṉ-ē, paraṉ-ē* for 'uyartiṇai' nouns with final *ṉ*. The same grammar has *ammē, attē* which also could not be supported by the rules of Tolkāppiyam.

(*To be concluded*)

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NYĀYA BHĀSKARA OF ANANTĀRYA[1]

TRANSLATED BY M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR, M.SC.

Life of Anantārya. (1823—1863 A. D.)

ANANTĀRYA son of *Mahābhāshyam* Singrachar was born at Melkote in the Mysore State in the month of April 1823 *A.D.* He studied *Nyāya* and *Mīmāmsa* under the great Gūli Bālācarya, later head of the Uttarādi Mutt. His father taught him *Śri Bhāshya* and other Śrī Vaiṣṇava literature. In the early part of his life, he was a teacher in the Jain Sanskrit *Pūtasāla* at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa where he had an opportunity to read several Jaina works and write the alankāra granthas, namely (1) Rasa-muralīdhara, (2) Kuvalayānanda-Makaranda and (3) Kṛṣṇa Rāja Kalodaya which however have not been printed up till now.

Later on he joined the Parakāla Mutt of Mysore and toured with the Svāmiji in North India. He is reputed to have distinguished himself by defeating his opponents at the court of Venkata Rāya, a petty chieftain, at Dharwar, Bombay Presidency in a disputation on *Bādha* or annulment a portion *Gadhādhara.* Then he accompanied the Svāmiji to Poona where he discussed with Mohana Sastry (or Mohūr Sastri) the feasibility of widow marriage supporting it from the Hindu scriptural Texts. He also wrote in Sanskrit a book called *Vidhavā-vivāha Khandanam* printed in Telugu characters.

In the *Ṇatva-tatvavibhūsaṇam*, he criticised the views of Kunigal Ramasastri in his book called *Navakoti.*

His works are :

(1) *Ṇatva Tatvavibhūsaṇam.*

(2) Śathakōṭi Khandanam.

(3) Ācāralochanam, otherwise called *Vidhavī-vivāha Khandanam.*

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1. In this work are criticised the views of *Gaūda Brahmānanda* expressed in *Laghuchandrika*, a commentary on the *Advaita Siddhi* of Madhusūdhana Sarasvati.

(4) *Nyāya Bhaskara*, wherein he criticises the views held by Gaūda Brahmānanda in *Laghuchandrika*, a commentary on the *Advaitha Siddhi* of Madhusūdhana Sarasvati.

(5) Śāstrārambhasamarthanam and nineteen other short treatises on Viṣiśtādvaita philosophy. These have been published in two volumes in the Devanāgari characters by the late Mr. M. T. Narasimha Iyengar [known as *Sri Kalki* of Malleswaram] under the name of *Vedāntha Vādāvali*. These books are available.

(6) Bhēdavāda.

(7) Tat-kratu Nyāyavicāra.

(8) Dṛiśyatvānumāna Nirāsa.

(9) Rasa Muralīdhara.

(10) Kuvalayānanda-Makaranda.

(11) Kṛṣṇa Rāja Kalodaya.

The author died at the very early age of forty in the year 1863 *A.D.* He had a number of disciples; but the most remarkable of them was the late Dharmādhikāri Naveenam Rāmānujacarya.

None of his works have been translated into English. My revered father, Mr. M. B. Varadarajiengar, had long had an idea of translating them into English. But his health stood in the way and he was also suffering from a cataract of the eye. I began to translate *Nyāya Bhāskara* into English under his able guidance and with parental blessings, but before I could complete the translation, he passed away and I lost his guiding hand. Then with the greatest difficulty I continued the translation of it, revised several chapters and completed chapter one of the work about two years ago. The rest is proceeding.

In translating this book, the following editions have been consulted :—

(1) The book in Telugu characters printed in Lakshmivilāsa Press of Madras in Sālivāhana Śakha, 1781, corresponding to 1859 *A.D.* (*i.e.* printed during the author's life-time).

(2) The book in Telugu characters published by the Vidyātarangini Press of Mysore by the late Dharmādhikāri Chakravarthi Iyengar in the year 1893 *A.D.*

(3) That in Devanāgari characters published by Mr. Prathivādi-Bhayamkaram Anantāchārya at the Sudarsana Press of Kāñchi.

CHAPTER I

1. There shines in a portion of *Yādavādri*,[2] the brilliant form of the mother of the three worlds—that form which equals in splendour a garland of lightning (produced by clouds), whose wonderful pleasure arises from the sport of the creation, the sustenance, and the destruction of the world, and who is established in the series of scriptures as an ocean of all the auspicious qualities.

2. May the heavenly river (Ganges) that is formed out of the stream of light sprouting forth from the nails (on the feet of) the Lord of *Yādavādri*, achieve greatness by destroying the fire of *samsāra*.[3] In this (river) the faces of Indra[4] and others (who bow their heads at the feet of the Lord), appear like the shining lotuses in a garland. And here the line of (their) variegated diamond coronets appears like the world of swans.

3. I am not aware of anything more auspicious than the lotus-like feet of the daughter of the milky ocean (*i.e.* of Lakṣmi [5]), the brilliance of whose filament sprouts forth from the coronets

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2. *Yādavādri*, another name for Melkote, the great *Śrīvaiṣṇava* centre, about eighteen miles from the French Rocks station on the Bangalore-Mysore line of the Mysore State Railways.

3. *Samsāra* means the circuit of mundane existence consisting of frequent births and frequent deaths and all their consequences.

4. *Indra*, in Hindu mythology is the name of the Lord of the Heavens or *Svargaloka*.

5. Lakṣmī is the name of the Goddess of fortune, mercy and beauty. She is otherwise known as *Śrī*, and is regarded in Hindu mythology as the wife of *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyana*. In the Taitt. Ār. in the passage, "Hrīcha te Lakṣmīscha patnyau" both *Lakṣmi* and *Hri* or modesty personified, are spoken of as the wives of *Viṣṇu*.

of Indra and other gods (who bow their heads at her feet) and who is borne on the head by the ancient goddess of learning (*i.e. Sarasvati.*)[6]

4. May the sage *Lakṣmana* (*i.e.* Rāmānuja) who is the moon of the ocean of *Vedānta*, who is the seat of all auspicious qualities, who is always alert, who is possessed of unrivalled greatness and who is full of mercy, grant all that is auspicious (to us).

5. I meditate upon the line of ancient teachers as a new garland, whose gems are possessed of flawless qualities and are strung of innumerable threads of auspicious qualities.

6. To please the learned, the learned *Ananthachārya*, who is the moon unto the ocean of the family of *Seshārya*, composes the *Nyāya Bhāskara* out of enthusiasm.

Here the *Advaitins* say that the unreality (of the phenomenal world) is established by the processes of inference and by the scriptures etc. Here surely the unreality (of the phenomenal universe) is established by the following argument: *Vimatam*[7] (*i.e.* the object under discussion) is unreal, (1) because it is perceivable, (2) because it is unconscious and (3) because it is limited as is the case with 'shell-silver.' Now here it is not right to name the subject (*i.e. Pakṣa*) by the word *vimatam*. *Vimatam* means an object of doubt (as to whether it is included in the subject or not) or it may mean an object of a doubt which itself arises from the relationship of cognizability (*i.e.* a doubt whether any of the objects included in that subject has that relation or not). As such it may be taken to be the characteristic of the subject. Then if what is sought to be proved by the inferential argument in question is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in all its forms, then the fallacy of '*Bādha*' ('or annulment') arises with regard to the *Brahman* and the absolutely non-existent, (*i.e.* according to the *advaitins* the *Brahman* who is real becomes unreal and the absolutely non-existent such as the hare's horn,

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6. Sarasvati, in Hindu mythology is regarded as the wife of *Brahma* and is the name of the Goddess of Learning.

7. *Advaitha Siddhi* published by the Nirnaya Sāgara Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 31.

which is not cognizable, becomes cognizable). If all the objects are taken to be the distinguishing characteristics of the subject, (*i.e. Vimatam*) then the attribute of doubt (used in the inferential argument) loses its significance. And if doubt arising from the relationship of cognizability is taken to be the distinguishing characteristic of the subject, then that portion of the clause, which relates to what is other than the knowledge producing the doubt, becomes useless. Thus also is refuted the school that establishes the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in some particular forms.

It has been stated by the opponent as follows:—The word, 'vimatam' refers to a particular object in all its forms. Then too the particular object, which is other than consciousness, is included in the subject, even though it is such as cannot be sublated (as false) by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman* and even though it be cognizable as an entity. And here what is sought to be established is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in all its forms. Then in the school that proves the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in some particular forms the argument would be open to the fallacy of 'redundancy', for in a particular case, that of 'shell-silver', the probandum is found to be at least a portion of the subject. In order to guard against this, the first clause (*i.e.* even though it ....*Brahman*) is introduced. The second clause is added in order to guard against the *Bādha* (or 'annulment'), that arises in the absolutely non-existent. In order to guard against the *Bādha* (or 'annulment') that arises in the *Brahman*, the clause relating to the qualification (*i.e.* other than consciousness) is introduced. This has been stated in the commentary of *Dīdhiti* thus:— "The ancient school of logicians have accepted in their inferential argument the fallacy of 'redundancy' when the probandum is found to co-exist in a portion of the subject which is considered in all its forms. In the inferential argument that proves the eternity of the sound, they have added (the words, namely,) articulate sounds to the subject in order to exclude inarticulate sounds."

The modern school of logicians is taken into consideration here. That says as follows:—" What is sought to be proved is the

co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in all its forms. Then no 'redundancy' arises if the probandum co-exists with a portion of the 'subject' in some particular forms. Then in what is sought to be proved, the first clause namely, 'by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.' need not be introduced (in the inferential argument). The two other qualifying clauses are to be inserted in order to guard against the *Bādha* (or 'annulment') in regard to the absolutely non-existent and the *Brahman*. Suppose what is sought to be proved is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in some particular forms, then only one qualifiying clause, namely, "even though it is such as cannot be sublated (as false) by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman*" has to be added to the 'subject".

This is not so. Not one of those, who have established the reality of the phenomenal world has accepted the creation of the shell-silver which cannot be defined [either as being (*saṭ*) or as non-being (*asaṭ*.)] Consequently no redundancy arises when what is sought to be proved, is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in some particular form. As such the first qualifiying clause (*i.e.* by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) will lose its significance. *Bhatta-Bhāskara* and others have accepted the production of the true silver in the shell. In their school, no 'redundancy' arises as the unreality of the phenomenal world will not be established. According to the disputants (non-*advaitins*) the inferential arguments fail (in their results) when the fallacy of 'redundancy' arises. Such being the case (these inferential arguments) must be considered to be those of the opponents (*i.e.* non-*advaitins*). [Here the *advaitins* hold that the shell-silver, which is produced at the time of cognition is undefinable either as *saṭ* or as *asaṭ*. Hence it is unreal].

It has been stated by the opponent thus:—" If any follower[8] of *Bhatta-Bhāskara* asserts the unreality of that (shell-silver), then that qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) will be useful in the course of argument with him. Or it will not be wrong even though there be no

8. Ibid. Page 33.

follower of *Bhatta-Bhāskara*, who accepts the unreality of the shell-silver. Regarding those who say that everything is real, the unreality of the shell-silver must be proved first, in order to establish the illustrative example (*i.e.* shell-silver.) Then the unreality of things different from it (*i.e.* the shell-silver) has to be established by the inferential argument stated above. The qualifying clause stated above (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) is used in order to guard against the fallacy of redundancy arising in regard to the shell-silver.

This is not so. Assume that there is a disputant. According to the opinion of that disputant, the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) becomes useful in order to guard against the fallacy of 'redundancy'. In the same way it is possible to assume a disputant who accepts the silver which cannot be sublated (as false) by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* and which is unreal. In this school in order to guard against the fallacy of 'redundancy' another qualifying clause has to be added (to the subject). Thus the fallacy of *regressus ad infinitum* will arise. Thus silver which is characterised by such a qualifying clause and which is unreal will have to be accepted by some one or other of the assumed disputants.

It is not proper to prove the usefulness of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.), by (the statement beginning from) 'or' [9] etc. The distinctions from consciousness as related to the illusions are found to exist in the *Brahman*. Therefore what is meant by the clause 'other than consciousness' is that those distinctions from consciousness are co-existent and coeval with themselves (*i.e.* illusions). Even though (the clause), 'other than consciousness' be related to the illusions as a practical reality, it is not included in the 'subject' as it means that the distinctions from consciousness are co-existent and coeval with themselves (*i.e.* illusions). Thus the (fallacy of redundancy) is excluded. Even according to the view that holds that (all) negations are positive entities, there is a chance of the fallacy of 'redundancy' to arise (in that inferential argument). Nevertheless in the erroneous knowledge, that this silver

9. Ibid. Page 32.

is not sublated by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*, the undefined silver that is associated with that non-sublation (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is produced. Hence by the introduction of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) it is difficult to avoid the fallacy of redundancy.

It may be argued thus. In the erroneous cognition mentioned above, the shell alone, that is associated with the non-sublation (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) is cognized in its relationship of identity (with that illusion of silver); but no such silver is produced that is associated with the (non-sublation by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*). Hence no such fallacy of redundancy arises here.

This is not so. It is stated in the (*Śaṅkara*) *Bhāshya* on 'superimposition' that as regards the objects their attributes are superimposed mutually one on the other. Accordingly you accept that, where two objects are superimposed mutually one on the other in the relationship of identity, then the attributes of the one associated with it are also superimposed mutually on the other. Hence it is necessary that when that non-sublation of the illusory silver (by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is superimposed in its relationship of identity on another (*i.e.* shell), the attributes (of the silver) that are associated with such non-sublation are also superimposed on those (of the shell). Hence it is not possible to exclude that silver (which is non-sublated by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) by the above-named qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is not sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the Brahman etc.).

It may be argued thus: In the statement, 'this silver is not sublated by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*', the erroneous knowledge cannot possibly be taken as direct. Hence it is stated to be indirect. And in regard to indirect knowledge of things, the theory of *anyathākhyāti* [10] is accepted and the theory

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10. *Anyathākhyāti*. This can be best explained by illustrations. A person sees a piece of rope and mistakes it for a snake; Or a person sees the shell and mistakes it for silver. The apprehension of silver in the shell or the snake in a piece of rope is the meaning of *anyathākhyāti*.

of such an illusion (as stated above) is not accepted. Therefore there is no room for the above mentioned fallacy of redundancy to arise. This is not the case; because, if the theory of the *anyathākhyāti* is accepted in regard to direct knowledge, then the cognizabilities corresponding to the theory of such an *anyathākhyāti* have to be in their nature identical with consciousness and cannot possibly possess the double character of substance and attribute.

Indeed, you (*i.e.* the *advaitins*) do not accept, as it is accepted in the school of logicians, that substances and their attributes are of the nature of indivisible limiting conditions; because in relation to the things which are identical with consciousness and which have mutually attained the relation of the distinguished and the distinguishing characteristic, the relation of substance and attribute is determined. Accordingly in only one particular state of consciousness, which has attained identity with all things perceptible, there is oneness with silver through the distinction due to the identity of the shell with consciousness and there is the negation of it (*i.e.* the pot) through the distinction due to identity with the pot (of consciousness). For instance, there are conjunction and its negation through the distinction between the top and the base of a tree (as in the case of the monkey, which sits on the top and not also at the base at the same time). When it is said that the tree is in conjunction (with the monkey) at the top, there is the experience of the conjunction (of the monkey) at the top. Similarly from the experience, 'I know this to be silver,' there is the cognizability of (the silver) identical with consciousness through the distinction due to the identity of what is denoted by the word, 'this,' with consciousness. There is this reason given in your (*i.e. advaitic*) system that substances are those, which possess that identity with consciousness which is their distinguishing characteristic and attributes are those which possess that identity with consciousness which is the thing distinguished. If the theory of *Anyathākhyāti* be accepted in relation to indirect knowledge, then in the case of the indirect inference, 'the lake is fiery', it is inappropriate to have fire as the attribute of that lake, which is distinguished by the substance 'lake'. The reason is this:—There are two identities of consciousness with the lake

and the fire. In order to make out the relation of substance and attribute between them, it is necessary that the mutual relation of the distinguishing characteristic and the thing distinguished has to be stated (between them). Hence there is no production of fire from its identity with consciousness, through the distinction of the identity of the consciousness with the lake. And so it is not possible for them to stand in the relation of the distinguishing characteristic and the thing distinguished through their existence in different places as stated above.

In the work known as *Advaitasiddhi*, under the section *Jaḍatva-nirukti*,[11] it is stated thus: "What is meant by indefinability has been established from the reason given above in the case of the indirect illusory knowledge thus: There is the cognition, 'I perceive this silver'. Here what is thought of as the object of cognition is (the silver). This cognition cannot appropriately have any other objective substratum (than silver). And so its indefinability has been proved. This will be explained later on. For this reason in regard to the indirect illusory knowledge, the meaning of indefinability has also been explained."

This is explained in the *Laghuchandrika* as follows: "The idea is this: where there is the cognition of the illusion of silver etc. which are in different places (from the one where we are), the identity of consciousness relating to that silver cannot possibly be distinguished by the identity of consciousness relating to what is denoted by the word, 'this'. Therefore the production of silver is accepted in relation to that consciousness, which is distinguished by the shell."

Ignorance is of two kinds, namely, that which brings about unreality and that which brings about non-cognition. Of these, the first is capable of being destroyed by both the direct and the indirect knowledge and it is resident in the Witnessing Principle, which is distinguished by the *antaḥkaraṇa* (or thinking faculty). And the second is capable of being destroyed by direct knowledge and is resident in the consciousness of the *Brahman* as distinguished by the objects. This view (of the author of *Advaitasiddhi*)

11. *Advaitasiddhi*. Published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 309.

is set aside for the reasons given above. If the ignorance, which brings about unreality, does not reside in consciousness as distinguished by objects, then fire etc. which are the modifications of that consciousness, will not be produced in the consciousness, which is distinguished by the lake. Hence in the inference, 'the lake is fiery,' the attribute 'fire' does not appropriately belong to that portion, denoted by the word 'lake'. However, owing to the inappropriateness mentioned above, both the kinds of ignorance have been accepted by *Brahmānanda* and others as resident in the consciousness which is distinguished by objects. Enough of this irrelevant discussion.

Moreover, it is not possible to avoid the fallacy of 'redundancy' in regard to the *Brahman* upon whom the character of being the object of destruction is superimposed; because, according to your view, the *Brahman* is capable of being known by the sixth sense (*i.e.* the mind)[12]. Hence it is possible for that erroneous knowledge, that the *Brahman* is the object of destruction, to have the character of direct perception. Such illusory knowledge is capable of being sublated by that knowledge of the *Brahman*, whose attribute is the absence of being the object of destruction and which is not capable of being sublated by any other (knowledge).

It has been stated by the opponent as follows :—

The meaning of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is that there is the non-sublation by the knowledge of things other than the *Brahman*. Thus the objects of destruction are liable to be sublated by the knowledge relating to the negation of the objects other than the *Brahman* as being the objects of destruction.

This is not so. If it were so, there would result the fallacy of the non-existence of the substratum (*i.e.* *Āsrayāsiddhi*); because the phenomenal world is sublated by the knowledge of things other than the *Brahman*. In regard to a superimposed thing there is the sublation of it through the direct perception of its substratum. Hence there is the sublator of the shell-silver with regard to its

12. Ibid. Pages 318 and 366.

collective cognitions, namely, "This is the shell. This is the pot". In this manner there is nothing wrong in the collective cognitions, such as "This is *Brahman*" and "The pot is destructible," sublating the phenomenal world.

Indeed, in the place where there is the shell-silver etc. it does not happen that the sublator of it is the knowledge not relating to things other than the *Brahman*; because the non-collective (or single) ocular cognition, namely, "This is shell," relates to the shell and to its number and its size etc. which are resident in it, and therefore it will lead to (that cognition) not being the sublator (of the shell-silver).

It must not be argued as follows:—If the phenomenal world is sublated by the direct perception of the *Brahman*, then that direct perception of the *Brahman*, which has the form, "I am ignorant, and which belongs to the present time, will have to be the sublator (of the phenomenal world)." Hence the clause, 'that does not relate to things other than the *Brahman*,' will have to be added to the qualification of the sublator. For the knowledge of the shell to the effect that it belongs to a particular class, apprehends as a characteristic of the class, the class to which the shell belongs.

To prevent this knowledge from sublating the shell-silver, the sublator has to be the possessor of that cognizability, which corresponds to the cognizability of the entire indivisible characteristic of the class[13] to which the shell belongs. In the same manner in order to prevent the knowledge of the *Brahman* possessed of ignorance etc. from sublating the phenomenal world, the sublator has to be stated to be that knowledge, which relates to the cognizability of the *Ātman* and which does not correspond to the cognizability of things other than the *Ātman*.

It should not be stated that, for the sake of simplicity it is proper to add the qualifying clause, that it does not relate to objects other than the *Brahman*, to the qualifications of the sublator with the object of preventing the knowledge of the *Ātman* possessed of ignorance etc. (from being the sublator). For were

13. Ibid. Page 258.

it so, the indeterminate perception relating to the *Ātman* will, through the relation of identity, certainly become the knowledge as possessed of the *Ātman* as the substance and of the *Ātman* as the attribute. As such it is impossible to prevent it from becoming the sublator. For that knowledge also is included in the qualification of the sublator, which is not related to the things other than the *Ātman*, and because also it will lead to the direct perception of the *Brahman* which, as stated above, consists of collective cognitions of not being the sublator; because also *Vidyāraṇya* and others have accepted collective cognitions as sublators. It has been stated as follows in the work known as *Dhyāna-Deepika*:[14] "The knower of the truth about the pot is not seen to twist his knowledge of the pot so as to find out that it is dissociated from the knowledge not relating to things other than the pot. If he twists his knowledge of the pot, he is only a meditator on the pot and not the knower of the pot."

The meaning of this passage is as follows:—"One does not desire to twist one's mind in order that the knowledge of the truth may be free from (the knowledge) of other things; because its (knowledge) being related to other things will make it relate to truth. In meditation, however, which consists of streams of cognition of the same nature being freed from cognitions of a different nature, that (dissociation of other things) is required.

It has been stated as follows:[15] "According to the opinion of the logicians, the cognitions, namely, 'pot' and 'no-pot', being hypothetical, are not hostile to other cognitions. Similarly, in my opinion also, the collective cognitions stated above, being hypothetical, are not the sublators of the world, because there is contradiction between dualism and non-dualism, as there is between the cognizability of the pot and the negation of the pot, where the cognitions are not hypothetical. It may be said as follows: "Again where through the relation of the distinguishing characteristic of the substances, which possess qualifying characteristics in regard to the production of non-hypothetical knowledge, whose qualifications are distinctions from the pot,

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14. Ibid. Page 258.
15. Ibid. Page 254.

there is obstruction to this knowledge through the relationship of the cognizability that is resident in the attributes of the pot. And it may be asked how it can exist between the last two (*i.e.* dualism and non-dualism). If it be so said, it is not right to say so; because the cognition, 'I am the *Brahman*', is produced subsequent to the cognition of the *Brahman* as the only one (non-dualistic entity). At that time there is the revived inner impression of memory with regard to the *Brahman* as being only one (non-dualistic entity). Hence this (impression) is hostile to the cognition of duality. Therefore, as between the last two of them (*i.e.* dualism and non-dualism), the above-said contradiction does properly exist; because for instance the revived inner impression of memory, namely, 'the shell is concomitant with the distinction from silver' is hostile to the mistaken cognition that the shell is silver. Similarly the revived innate impressions of the memory, namely, that the negation of a second (entity) exists in the *Brahman* and that the negation of ignorance etc. exists in the *Brahman*, are hostile to the cognitions of ignorance as a second entity, having the same existence as that of the *Brahman*. It should not be said that in regard to such a collective cognition, which has been stated above and which does not recognise the identity of *Saṭ* (*i.e.* the *Brahman*) (in all other things). The revived innate impression is not hostile and in producing it there is nothing contradictory, because it has been established elsewhere that the cognizability of things other than the *Saṭ* is, as a general rule, explained by the identity of the self with all other things. And it being so, the knowledge relating to things other than the *Brahman*, being hypothetical, is no sublator (of the phenomenal world). Therefore the fallacy of the absence of the substratum does not arise."

This is not right. The revived innate impressions, namely, "The negation of a second exists in the *Brahman* etc." may be correct so far as the thing distinguished as a second is concerned in being hostile to the knowledge apprehending the identity of the *saṭ* (*i.e.* the *Brahman*); yet, so far as the pot, which is distinguished by the attributes of the pot, is concerned, the cognition that apprehends the identity of the *saṭ* cannot possibly be hostile. And therefore the cognitions, namely, "I am

the *Brahman*," "The pot is destructible" etc. cannot possibly be hypothetical.

It should not be stated that the revived innate impressions, such as 'The negation of the pot exists in the *Brahman*' exist previously; because there is no authority to say that the totality of attributes concomitant with perceptibility possesses the character of the innate impression relating to the *Brahman*, who is characterised by the negation of those attributes. Where the innate impression relating to the negation, which is characterised by any attributes whatsoever, does not exist at a former time there, in relation to the thing distinguished by that attribute, the collective cognitions, such as, "I am the *Brahman*" and "I exist distinguished by that attribute," which apprehend the identity of the *Sat* (with all things) happen to be not hypothetical. Therefore, for this reason, at the time of the interpretation of the scriptural passage, namely, "(there was in the beginning) one only without a second," a doubt is raised as follows:—If the word 'this' gives rise to the knowledge of what is distinguished by reality, then the knowledge, which has in view the *Brahman* that is distinguished by that reality and which relates to the negation of the object that is distinguished by reality and which is produced by the scriptural passage, will have to become hypothetical. Then the answer given by you runs thus:— "The word 'this' gives rise to the knowledge of what is distinguished by perceptibility. Therefore in regard to the *Brahman*, it is associated with perceptibility, there is produced (from that scriptural passage) this knowledge relating to the negation of duality. This knowledge is non-hypothetical". This answer is satisfactory only to yourself. If two cognitions relating to the negation (of different things) in different forms are accepted to be the sublator and the sublated, it is difficult to avoid the hypothetical character produced by the above-given scriptural passage. In this manner in the case of the inference which is intended to prove the unreality (of the phenomenal world), in the substratum (*i.e.* the pot etc.) which is distinguished by particular attributes, it (*i.e.* collective cognition) relates to the negation (of the pot) as possessing those attributes and it is therefore hypothetical. Nevertheless, the direct perception of the *Brahman* destroys ignorance etc. So also, it, which

consists of collective cognitions sublates the phenomenal world, although it is hypothetical. Therefore, the above-stated fallacy of the absence of the substratum (*i.e. Āsrayāsiddhi*) is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning, the following view is also set aside. The meaning of the qualifying clause, (*i.e.* even though it is such as cannot be sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) may be taken to be this, that it is not sublated by the cognition, which is characterised by attributes, because the error of being the object of destruction is superimposed on the *Brahman* and it is sublated by the cognition characterised by the negation of being the object of destruction. Hence the fallacy of redundancy is set aside.

Because in what is distinguished by the word 'this' the error, namely, 'This is that,' is produced through the mutual negation, which has for its object that which is characterised by the word, 'that'. Therefore 'the fallacy of redundancy' will not be guarded against. There is this reason also, that that error is set aside by the indeterminate cognition relating to the essential nature of a thing that is characterised by 'thisness' and 'thatness' as expressed in the statement, 'This is that,' and therefore its non-sublation by the cognition characterised by attributes remains undisturbed. That cognition which is characterised by attributes and which is found to exist in regard to the portion 'pot' indicated in the (collective cognition) 'I am the *Brahman* and the pot is destructible'—by means of such cognitions, the sublation of the world results. Therefore the fallacy of *Āsrayāsiddhi*, (the absence of the substratum) arises.

It should not be argued thus: If the above-mentioned collective cognition sublates the phenomenal world, then in regard to the cognition not relating to objects other than the *Brahman* as set out in the scriptural passage, "Knowing Him alone one transcends death," contradiction arises from the statement that it removes ignorance. Because in regard to the sentence: "Eating food alone one attains particular satisfaction," the meaning is that he is possessed of the satisfaction which is produced by the dissociation from not eating

what is not food and by the association of eating what is food. Similarly the meaning of the scriptural passage (which begins with, 'Knowing Him alone') is that one becomes possessed of salvation, which is produced by the dissociation of things other than the *ātman* and by the association with the cognition of the *ātman*. Therefore there is no contradiction here. And also because in the scriptural passage quoted above the participle [*viz. lyap*], 'knowing,' although it means something prior in time, has to suit the purport to be interpreted figuratively so as to mean the cause. There is this reason also. The meaning of the verbal root [to know], which is associated with what is related to the *ātman*, that is denoted by the accusative case, is contained in the *ātman*. Hence the cognition which is qualified by its being related to the *ātman* has assumed the character of the qualification (of that *ātman*) and is interpreted in association with the *ātman*). Thus the character of the cause in relation to such a cognition, as is distinguished by its relation to the *ātman* is obtained. By the word, 'alone,' which means dissociation from other things, the negation, which is distinguished by its relation of exclusion and which relates to things other than the *Brahman*, gives rise to the knowledge of such a cause.

It should not be argued as follows :—Generally the exclusion of the association with the other things (than the one with which the word, 'alone,' is associated) is not known to exist. Therefore the denotative power of the word, 'alone,' relates partly to association with other things and partly to the exclusion (of other things). In the case under reference here, the expression, 'the association with other things,' is intended to mean a being solely related to other things. For instance, when it is said that odour exists in the earth alone, etc. it means that it (*i.e.* the odour) is intimately associated with other things also. Although it does not bring out association with it (*i.e.* that cognition), the substance known as the *ātman* is associated with it (*i.e.* that cognition) through the relation of the *ātman* as the container. Hence it is to be stated that here it is not determined to have become related to things other than the *ātman*. This cannot possibly happen. That which is associated as an attribute in one place, cannot possibly

be associated as an attribute in another place; because the attribute denoted by the word, '*ātman*,' in the accusative case, cannot be the attribute of the *ātman*, if it is other than what it has been stated to be above. For in the instance given above, namely, 'Odour is in the earth alone etc.' the clause, namely, 'with earth etc.' which has assumed the character of the attributes denoted by the locative case, the word, 'alone,' is associated. Similarly in regard to the case under reference here [*i.e.* the scriptural passage mentioned above], through the variety of the meaning governed by the contexts in the places, where the word, 'alone,' occurs, the interpretation has to be the same.

It must not be argued thus: In the instance, 'the odour is in the earth alone,' the sense of the locative case and the word, 'alone,' are interpreted simultaneously. Therefore there is no need for narrowing the meaning (of the word 'alone') as stated above. Because, in regard to the earth etc. the necessary materials for producing their association with the sense of the locative case comes first to the mind. Therefore for not producing at first such a cognition there is no cause; for where that by knowledge is not related to what is denoted by the word, 'alone,' and also where it is hostile to the cognition of what is denoted by the word, 'alone,' in conjunction with other words, the reasoning becomes complex. Because also as in the case mentioned above, it possibly happens that in the case (the scriptural passage beginning 'Him alone knowing etc.') the instantaneous interpretation (of both taken together) will have to be accepted. However, according to the maxim known as *tadādi*,[16] as a matter of fact, there is nothing wrong in accepting the power of the word, 'alone,' as denoting the exclusion of other things, which forms the meaning of the word, 'alone,' in association with other words. According to the demonstrated conclusion, in the passage beginning with, 'Him alone,' by associating the word thus, 'Him knowing alone', the word, 'alone,' denotes that exclusion of the want of association, which is not the object of negation existing in the same place with what is sought to be propounded here. Just as in the instance, 'The

16. Tadādi: The maxim beginning from that. The meaning is 'that (referring to something seen or experienced before)'.

conch alone is white', there is the cognition of the concomitance of the conch with whiteness, so also there is, in its being caused by the knowledge relating to Him, the cognition concomitant with salvation. Therefore the meditation of Him possessed of auspicious qualities is the cause of salvation and even thus there is no contradiction.

It should not be argued as follows:—The scriptural passage, "Him thus one who knows, immortal he here becomes," indicates that there is no other path of salvation available. What is propounded here is that through the materials, not associated with the knowledge of the *Brahman*, there is nothing that can lead to salvation. If it is caused by that knowledge (*i.e.* of the *Brahman*), then the concomitance with the condition of freedom has already been arrived at. From the passage, 'no other path etc.' it does not happen that what is other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* relates to the negation of its being the cause (of salvation). It has been established in the demonstrated conclusion that among others the grace of the Lord and, the individual souls, which is other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* is the cause of salvation. And accordingly if the passage beginning with, 'Him alone,' has the above-said meaning, then there is nothing new that can be denoted as not having been known through any other means of knowledge as its cause. Because according to your opinion also, in regard to the above scriptural passages, the non-happening of something new is the same (as with us). Because the meaning of the above passage has been already arrived at in the passage, 'Him alone, one, know ye, the self.'

If, according to the argument derived from the aphorism, "If it be said that, owing to the distinction due to its repetition etc. there is distinction among the forms of worship, it is not so even in regard to one and the same form of worship. Repetition is due to the distinction of persons capable of understanding it"[17] the theory of something new is rendered appropriate through the variety of those who study and understand the scriptures, then, in the case of him, who studies his own particular branch (of the scriptures), in each particular passage is given

17. *Brahmasūtras*, 3-3-2.

something new; because that meaning which is not known through other means of knowledge, and which is not dependent on itself and which is hostile to the ignorance of the person who is to be taught by it,—is itself something new.

In order that the passage beginning with, 'Him alone knowing,' may be interpreted so as to prove something new to him, by whom it was learnt, the passage, namely, 'Him alone, one know ye etc.' is another means of knowledge to him, that is not dependent on itself. Even so it is not hostile to the ignorance of the person to whom it is taught. If it be so said, then, even so, something new is rendered appropriate to us in the manner stated above. Therefore the case is the same with us. Thus though that direct perception of the *Brahman* stated above, which is of the nature of collective cognition, may sublate the phenomenal world, it is hostile to the scriptural passage quoted above, and the fallacy of *āsrayāsiddhi* (*i.e.* the want of substratum) is difficult to avoid.

It should not be argued as follows:—There are things governed corresponding to their governors, which are distinguished by their character of being other than the *Brahman*. Similarly there are other things than those whose negations are characterised either by themselves or by their material causes. This itself may be the meaning of the qualification ending with non-sublation quoted above (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*). The negation distinguished by either the shell-silver or its material cause governs distinctly what is related distinctly in relation to the shell. Hence, being the object of destruction it has the distinction of having as its substratum what is distinguished as its container denoted by the word, 'this,' and having for its thing contained, what is distinguished by the word, 'that'. This is similar to the above and therefrom results its exclusion.

Or the meaning of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the *Brahman*) may be this: that it is other than what is characterised by being other than the *Brahman*. This characterisation is due to the relations of (1) being in the same locus as itself and (2) of certainty that is not set aside by the cognition relating to the falsehood relating to itself.

(3) This character of being the object of mutual negation is due to the relationship, which is possessed of mutual negation, whose object is distinguished from its own characteristics and (4) its own characteristic is due to the relation distinguished by the relation of either its being anterior in time or its existing at the same time as the ignorance that governs it. Accordingly, the shell-silver etc. are through the above mentioned relations associated with the shell. The above mentioned character of being the object of destruction etc. associated with the *Brahman*, who is characterised by the negation of having the qualification of destruction. And the *Brahman* possessed of characterised attributes is distinct from the pure *Brahman*. The distinction (or mutual negation) stated above is characterised by the essential nature that is characterised by 'thatness' and 'thisness'. For these reasons there is no room for the fallacy of redundancy stated above nor is there the fallacy of *āsrayāsiddhi* (*i.e.* the want of substratum). Because according to the view,[18] which holds that there are many ignorances, although by means of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though etc.) the shell-silver is set aside, it is not set aside in the case of the view that holds there is only one ignorance. In the case of the (latter) view, even at the time of the cognition of the knowledge of the shell, the ignorance relating to the material cause of the shell-silver exists, because also even according to the view that holds that there are many ignorances, the container of the mutual negation is characterised by the *Brahman* and the contained of (the said mutual negation) is characterised by the generic character of the cognition. There results the error that the *Brahman* is not consciousness. Thus if it (*i.e.* the error) is sublated by the cognition resulting from the testing passage, beginning with, 'Truth, Knowledge,' the fallacy of redundancy is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning, the following view is also set aside:—The meaning of the above mentioned qualifiying clause (*i.e.* even though, etc.) may be this, that there is no sublation by the knowledge that is devoid of the totality of cognizability (without distinction) which resides in the *Brahman*. The

18. *Advaitasiddhi*. Published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 545.

expression namely, 'the totality of cognizability without distinction' is taken to mean that it is distinct from the character of being the attributes. From this although the cognition, 'This is shell,' has the character of being the totality of attributes without distinction, which exists in the *Brahman* in the case of the shell-silver, there is neither the fallacy of redundancy nor the fallacy of *āsrayāsiddhi* (*i.e.* the want of substratum).

Again the meaning of the qualifiying clause may be this: That it is the non-sublation by the knowledge of other things, whose cognizability corresponds to the *Brahmin*, as qualified by the characters of the *Brahman* and the individual souls. The object of the knowledge produced by the passage beginning with, 'Truth etc.' is determined as the *Brahman* as characterised by truth, etc. Yet what the characteristics of the individual souls are, is not determined by it (*i.e.* the passage beginning with 'truth' etc.) Hence there is no fallacy of redundancy in the case of the (above-mentioned) distinction (between the *Brahman* and the individual souls).

This is not so. According to the opinion of the dualists, the cognizability of the *Brahman* as qualified by the character of being the *Brahman* and the individual souls is unknown to exist. Because also in relation to the cognitions, which have the same forms, the distinction of cognizability is untrue. And the knowledge derived from the passage beginning with, 'Truth, knowledge etc.' is not different in form from the knowledge derived from the passage, beginning with, "That Thou art". For such a knowledge there is no dissociation from the possession of the cognizability of the *Brahman* characterised by the character of the individual souls. Therefore the fallacy of redundancy it is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning the following view is also set aside:—The meaning of the above qualifying clause may be taken to be this: that it is being other than (the cognition of the *Brahman*) so as to be characterised by the cognizability, which is not distinguished as the product of the grand passages (like, 'That Thou art'). This characterisation is due to the relations of (1) being in the same locus as itself and (2) of certainty that is not set aside by the cognition relating to the falsehood relating to itself, (3) (This character of being the object of mutual negation is due)

to the relationship, which is possessed of mutual negation, whose object is distinguished from its own characteristics and (4) its own characteristic is due to the relation distinguished by the relation of its being anterior in time or its existing at the same time as the ignorance that governs it. Its own characteristic is due to either of the relations mentioned above. Accordingly such a distinction is associated through the above-mentioned relations with the cognizability, which are taught in the passage beginning with the word, 'Truth etc.' and which does not form the characteristic of the grand passage. Hence the fallacy of redundancy is guarded against. If in relation to the grand passages, there is cognition produced by the one or the other, then the fallacy of being too wide (*i.e. vyabhichāra*) arises. In order to guard against it, cognizability is introduced into the immediately subsequent, which is the characteristic of the product. The cognizability, taught as having been produced by the grand passage, does not form part of the product of such a passage. Hence the fallacy of *āsrayāsiddhi* (*i.e.* want of substratum) arises.

It must not be argued here thus:—The meaning of this qualifying clause may be taken to be this that it is other than what is characterised by the knowledge that is not produced by the grand passage (*i.e.* "That Thou art"). Being characterised by the knowledge is due to its relationship of being the contained. To be the characteristic of the grand passage is proved to be non-dualism, owing to its having for its purport the non-distinction of the soul and the *Brahman*. Accordingly in relation to what is characterised by the *Brahman*, there is the distinction characterised by the knowledge. In regard to this distinction, there is the knowledge which is not produced by the grand passage and which is produced by the passage containing commandments. This knowledge, through the aforesaid relation of being the contained, is characterised by that distinction. Therefore the reasoning is not redundant as aforesaid.

This is not so: because were it so at the time of the non-determinate cognition, produced by the passage beginning with 'That Thou art,' the then existing cognition of the pot would be due to the relation of the thing contained, and the world is characterised by that cognition of the pot. Therefore the fallacy of redundancy arises.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE VEDĀṄGAS AND THEIR VALUE

By G. Sitaramiah, M.A.

The term vedāṅga literally means "a limb of the veda". This meaning is borne out by a statement in the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, which says :—

छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते
ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुः निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते ।
शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्
तस्मात्साङ्गमधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

Tradition enumerates six vedāṅgas. It is very difficult to determine where and when the vedāṅgas were first mentioned as six. Some scholars hold that the earliest mention of the Vedāṅgas is found in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad which declares :—

द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इतिह स्म यद्ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति परा चैवापरा च ।
तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो
व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति ।
अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ।

Prof. Max Müller suspects this passage to be an interpolation. The vedāṅgas are enumerated by Yāska, the Caraṇa-vyūha, and Manu also. Manu, however, deals with the Vedāṅgas under the title, Pravacanas. (iii 184.) अग्र्याः सर्वेषुवेदेषु सर्वप्रवचनेषुच ।

There is a reference to the Vedāṅgas in the Ṣaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa, which belongs to the Sāma Veda, where it is said of Svāhā, that her body consists of four vedas, and that her limbs are the six aṅgas of the veda.

चत्वारोऽस्यै वेदाः शरीरं षडङ्गान्यङ्गानि ।
ओषधिवनस्पतयो लोमानि ॥

Here, although the number six is given, the titles of the several subjects are not given. Any way, this can be taken to be the earliest enumeration of the Vedāṅgas.

The purpose of the Vadāṅgas is given in a short sentence by Sāyaṇa—

अतिगम्भीरस्य वेदस्यार्थमवबोधयितुं शिक्षादीनि षडङ्गानिप्रवृत्तानि ॥

The name Vedāṅga originally meant neither special books nor special schools, but only subjects of instruction, the study of which was essential either for the reading, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Veda.

The beginnings of the Vedāṅgas go back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas where the explanations of the sacrificial ritual are mixed with occasional discussions on matters relating to phonetics, etymology, grammar, metrics and astronomy. These subjects were treated systematically in due course, in special treatises or texts in the form of sūtras. The sūtra form was meant to serve the practical purpose of presenting some science systematically and concisely, so that the pupil may easily commit it to memory. Winternitz says: "There is probably nothing like these Sūtras of the Indians in the entire literature of the world." Prof. Macdonell writes: "The prose in which these works are composed is so compressed that the wording of the most laconic telegram would often appear diffuse compared with it." "Saying as much as possible in as few words as possible" was probably the motto of the writers of these works. Patañjali states in his Mahābhāṣya :—

अर्धमात्रालाघवं पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः ।

The six subjects commonly comprehended under the title of Vedāṅgas are:

1.	Śikṣā	...	Pronunciation
2.	Chandas	...	Metre
3.	Vyākaraṇa	...	lit. (Analysis)—Grammar
4.	Nirukta	...	Etymology
5.	Jyotiṣa	...	Astronomy, and
6.	Kalpa	...	Ceremonial or Ritual.

The first two are necessary for the reading of the Veda, the next two for understanding it and the last two for employing it at sacrifices.

ŚIKṢĀ

Sāyaṇa defines Śikṣā thus: वर्णस्वराद्युच्चारण प्रकारो यत्रोपदिश्यते सा शिक्षा । or the science of the pronunciation of letters and accents.

The doctrine of Śikṣā arose out of a religious need; for, inaccurate pronunciation of Vedic texts was thought to bring disaster to the sacrificer. It is said in the Śikṣā,

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
सवाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

Saṃhitā-pāṭhas and Pada-Pāṭhas are the oldest productions of the Śikṣā schools. There is another class of writings called the Prātiśākhyas which contain the rules by the aid of which one can easily turn the Pada-pāṭha into the Saṃhitā-pāṭha. Prātiśākhyas are the oldest text-books of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. They contain instruction upon the whole manner of the recitation of the Saṃhitā. Every Śākhā had a text-book of this nature and hence the name Prātiśākhya. The Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya is ascribed to Śaunaka and the Vājasaneyi—Prāti-Sākhya-Sūtra is ascribed to Kātyāyana. There is a Prātiśakhya for the Atharvaveda and it seems to belong to the school of the Śaunakas. The Puṣpa-Sūtra is a kind of Prātiśākhya to the Uttaragāna of the Sāmaveda.

"The history of grammatical study in India," in the words of Winternitz, "commences with these Prātiśākhyas."

The Prātiśākhyas, however, are not grammatical works themselves; but they treat of subjects pertaining to grammar and quote from many grammarians. They are further important because they settled for all time the Saṃhitā portion of the Veda. Besides there are modern Śikṣā manuals in verse form which are ascribed to Vyāsa, Bhāradvāja and others; these are not important. Prof. Max Müller speaks of the Pratiśākhyas in these words:

> "They are written for practical purposes; their style is free from cumbrous ornaments and unnecessary subtleties. It is their object to teach and not to edify; to explain, not to discuss."

CHANDAS

The second Vedāṅga is Metre. Sāyaṇa maintains that whoever officiates at a sacrifice, ignorant of metrics, becomes a sinner. The names of several metres occur in the Ṛgveda and some Brāhmaṇas. But what is found in the Brāhmaṇas about metre is not of much use as it is often full of dogmatic and mystical ingredients. The Chandasūtra of Piṅgala which is spoken of as a Vedāṅga is not of great antiquity. It treats of Prākṛt as well as Sanskrit metres. Piṅgala is an authority on Metrics. The Nidāna-Sūtra contains some metrical investigations regarding the Sāmaveda. It is in ten Prapāṭhakas and gives a kind of index to the metres as they occur in hymns employed at several sacrifices.

VYĀKARAṆA

The third Vedāṅga is Vyākaraṇa. In the considered opinion of Sāyaṇa, grammar is the most important of the Vedāṇgas. He says: प्रधानं च षट्स्वङ्गेषु व्याकरणम ।

The purpose of the study of grammar is given by Vararuci in his Vārtika as: रक्षोहागमलघ्वसंदेहाः प्रयोजनम् ॥

The study of grammar facilitates the avoidance of incorrect words (अपशब्दाः). The Vyākaraṇa Vedāṅga is represented by the Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini. Vedic forms are treated by Pāṇini as exceptions to classical Sanskrit usage.

Prof. Max Müller writes:

"Instead of considering the third Vedāṅga doctrine as represented by the grammarians beginning with Pāṇini, as Indian authors do, it would be more correct to say that it is represented by the grammarians ending with Pāṇini (पाणिन्यन्ताः)"

Pāṇini's work has come to be regarded as an infallible authority. Pāṇini superseded all his predecessors and consequently all previous grammatical efforts have, as good as, perished.

The Uṇādi Sūtras and the Phiṭsūtras are two separate grammatical treatises which belong to a period anterior to Pāṇini. It may be that the Uṇādi Sūtras were meant for the veda only and that they were later enlarged by adding rules on the formation of non-vedic words.

The Phiṭsūtras treat only of accent and we know that it is only Vedic Sanskrit that is accented. Hence it is probable that Śāntana, author of the Phiṭsūtras was anterior to Pāṇini.

NIRUKTA

The fourth Vedāṅga is Nirukta. It is represented by but one work which is known by the name of Yāska's Nirukta. Sāyaṇa describes the utility of this vedāṅga in the following manner:

अर्थावबोधे निरपेक्षतया पदजातं यत्रोक्तं तन्निरुक्तम् ।
एकैकस्य पदस्य संभाविता अवयवार्थास्तत्र निःशेषेणोच्यन्त इतिव्युत्पत्तेः ॥

Yāska's work applies itself exclusively to vedic etymology. It is itself a commentary on the Nighaṇṭus and not an independent treatise. The object of this Vedāṅga is etymological explanation or interpretation of difficult vedic words. The value of the Nirukta which has come down in twelve chapters consists in its being the oldest extant commentary on the Veda.

Tradition erroneously ascribes the Nighaṇṭus also to Yāska.

The Nighaṇṭus are five lists of words divided into three sections. *Viz.*:—

(1) Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa
(2) Naigama Kāṇḍa and, lastly, the
(3) Daivata Kāṇḍa.

Vedic exegesis probably began with the compilation of such glossaries.

It is undoubted that Yāska had many predecessors, seventeen of whom he quotes. The Nirukta, though certainly very old and the oldest existing work on Vedic exegesis, can only be regarded as the last production of the literature of the Vedāṅga-Nirukta.

Yāska, incidentally comments upon a large number of Ṛks of the Ṛgveda. (About 600 detached stanzas.)

The Nirukta is highly interesting as the earliest specimen of Sanskrit Prose of the classical type, considerably earlier than Pāṇini himself.

Thus, a study of the Nirukta is indispensable for the correct comprehension of the Vedic texts and traditional interpretation.

JYOTIṢA

Astronomy is the fifth Vedāṅga. Its literature is scanty. The Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa is a small manual of Astronomy in verse form. It has two recensions; in the Ṛgveda recension it contains thirty-six verses while in the Yajurveda recension it possesses forty-three verses. Its object is not to teach astronomy but to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifices. Sāyaṇa says "कालविशेषावगमयितुं ज्योतिषमुपयुज्यते।". The doctrines upheld in the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa represent the earliest stage of Hindu Astronomy. Frequent allusions to astronomical subjects are already found in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. Even in the Samhitās there is an indication of a certain advance in the observation of the moon, as the measure of time.

The Caranavyūha speaks of an Upajyotiṣa as a supplementary treatise on astronomy which is only one of the Pariśiṣṭas.

KALPA

We now come to the last Vedāṅga, namely Kalpa or Ritual.

The first Vedāṅga to receive systematic treatment in special manuals, the Kalpa-sūtras, is Kalpa or ceremonial. The Kalpa-sūtras arose out of the need for compiling the rules for the sacrificial ritual in a shorter, more manageable and connected form for the practical purposes of the priests.

Kalpa is the most complete Vedāṅga being more practical than the Brāhmaṇas. In the words of Prof. Max Müller "The Kalpa-sūtras have the advantage of being clear, short, complete, and correct."

The Kalpa-sūtras presuppose not only the existence of three distinct collections of Brāhmaṇas but also of different Śākhās. They were intended by their authors for more than one caraṇa or adopted to more than one Śākhā.

Kalpa-sūtras dealing with the Śrauta Sacrifices taught in the Brāhmaṇas are called Śrauta-sūtras and those dealing with the domestic ceremonies and sacrifices of daily life are called Gṛhya-sūtras. The Śrauta-sūtras are our most important source for the

understanding of the Indian Sacrifice-cult and as a source for the history of religion, they are very significant.

The contents of the Gṛhya-sūtras are more interesting and more manifold. The Saṃskāras of an Indian, from the moment when he is conceived in the womb till the hour of his death, are dealt with in these Gṛhya-sūtras. Thus we are able to know a large number of genuinely popular customs and usages of the Indians of olden days. Śrāddhas or ancestral sacrifice, which originally formed part of the Gṛhya-sūtras assumed great importance and therefore were treated in minutest detail in special texts called Srāddha-Kalpas.

Though the Gṛhya-sūtras are not attractive as literary productions they are of inestimable value as they give us a deep insight into the life of the ancient Indians.

"They are in truth a real treasure for the ethnologist." Winternitz calls these Sūtra works "Folklore Journals" of ancient India.

The Dharma-sūtras are a continuation of the Gṛhya-sutras. They deal with secular as well as religious law, which indeed are inseparable in India. They form a component part of text-books of ritual.

The Śulva-sūtras are attached to the Śrauta-sūtras and they are the oldest works on Indian geometry. They contain exact rules for the measurement and building of the Vedī and fire-altars.

Sāyaṇa explains the word Kalpa as follows:—

कल्पयते समर्थ्यते यागप्रयोगोऽत्रेति व्युत्पत्तेः ॥

Prof. Max Müller writes:

"The Kalpa-sūtras are important in the history of Vedic literature, for more than one reason. They not only mark a new period of literature, and a new purpose in the literary and religious life of India, but they contributed to the gradual extinction of the numerous Brāhmaṇas, which to us are therefore only known by name. The introduction of a Kalpa-sūtra was the introduction of a new book of liturgy."

It should here be borne in mind that the Vedāṅgas are not Śruti but Smṛti. Even the Śrauta-sūtras are not "revealed texts" because they were composed by human authors. The style of the Vedāṅgas is business-like in the extreme; the curt and dry style of the Sūtras, a style peculiar to India.

A careful study of these Vedāṅgas will go a long way in the correct comprehension of the real meaning of a large number of Vedic hymns.

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PROTO-INDIC RELIGION *

By S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, M.A.

V

Eschatology of the Proto-Indic people. Sir John Marshall and others without a sufficient knowledge of the Vedic civilisation have made many assertions regarding the non-Āryan character of the Indus civilisation. But they had to admit that the Indus people disposed off the dead by cremation. The recent excavations at the cemetery site at Harappa by M. S. Vats show first the continuity of the Harappa tradition, and secondly, the prevalence of various methods of disposal of the dead. In the upper level of the cemetery area the pot-burials were characterised by human remains only and over them were goblets, toys (?) and cakes. Probably the bodies were exposed to birds and beasts. The multiple burials in the same pot possibly point to the fact that either by accident or design the bones of several persons were placed in the same urn. The shapes of the pots are quite different and they are covered with bowls. The decorations on the pots are realistic-fishes, birds, leaves, flying kites, horns with leaves. The peacocks are predominant and in the body of the peacock a human figure is depicted. Some of the peacocks are 'horned'. Bulls are held by two ropes by two human beaked figures with bows and arrows. A bull is being chased by a hound. Goats with tridents on the heads, composite animals, stars, birds and leaves are also figured.

The ellipsoid jars had stereotyped peacocks, fishes, pairs of peacock heads joined U-wise, triangles and horns, three leaves on the heads of peacocks, the *markhor* goat, trees and birds. A jar decorated with the finger tip or groove pattern had a baby's skeleton in an embryo position. Some jars had only the skull and bones. The holes in the neck of the jars were perhaps meant for tying the covers, though it is quite possible to tie them down without the holes.

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* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. 3, page 292.

Within the jars were painted vases, two cog-wheel shaped nose-discs of steatite with holes in the centre. A round jar had both calcined and uncalcined bones, a drinking goblet of the Harappa period, dishes, triangular cakes, terracotta balls, bangles, stone pestles and figurines of birds. The bodies were perhaps first exposed, partly burned and then buried. The babies were not exposed but tied in embryo position by a cloth, with the right arm over the abdomen and placed in the urn.

In the stratum II earth burials were common. In the eastern section there were whole burials but in the north area there was invariably fractional burial. The usual position of the skeleton was from east to west, west to east being rare only when fully stretched. The head was usually turned on the left cheek so that the bodies faced south. The left arm is placed over the shoulder and the right hand on the left arm and pelvis. The feet are also turned to the left. No pottery was found with this type. Where the right leg is flexed the right hand is brought over the abdomen and the left over the right hand above the pelvis.

The fully stretched skeletons from west to east are rare. The pottery in all places were near the foot and consist of *kaḷaśas*, saucers under the feet, water jars and flasks. The sheep or goats were deliberately sacrificed and the bones were placed in the hand of the skeleton.

Some skeletons, from north-east to south-west were lying on the left side in a flexed position and the jars were painted with figures of light (winged ?). Other skeletons had both legs doubled up. The vessels placed near the legs resemble the ordinary Mohenjo-Daro pottery but the food plates placed near the legs are different. Dismembered and fractional burials south-west to north-east were found without pottery.

In the eastern section, the orientation is north-east to south-west or west to east. Only five skeletons were found with flexed legs and the others were fully stretched. There was some grave-furniture but not with incomplete burials. The pots were placed at the head or feet. The types were the kaḷaśa (for water) with a flask in it and cover, a ghaṭa, bowls decorated with peacocks,

trees, leaves, fishes, hands, tassels, etc. as in stratum I, dishes resembling Kish bowls of pre-sargonic age, champagne vases as in Carchemish and Kish, used according to Langdon as eating plates, pear-shaped and round flasks.

In the Harappa cremation urns there were bones, some charred, of animals, birds, fish etc. There were no human bones (except one solitary tibia). The urns also had goblets with pointed bases, cylindrical vases, toys, balls, beads, bangles, toy carts, wheels, shell, cereals, ashes, charcoal, tortoise shell, antlers, melon-seeds etc. These post-cremation urns were found both in the streets and under the drains as well as beneath the floors of the houses. Fifty-four vases were found under the same lane in stratum V. The post-cremation urns have a deep red or cream slip. The poly-chrome pottery though comparatively not so abundant are found in all the levels The paintings are in horizontal registers, with black bands, dots, geometrical figures, humans and animals in black in red. Among the animals only the goat (and bull ?) figures on the pots. Palm trees, centaurs (?), birds, cross or eagle, fish, fisherman with net, tortoise, crabs, star objects, goat suckling a kid, four humans with tridents or plants or, horns on their heads, the date tree, acacia, banana (?) pipal, the 'comb', svastika, T shapes, the so-called hide motive (intersecting circles), basket, heart, and fish scale designs, rayed circles, geometrical designs, triangles, chess-board chequers, dots are depicted on these funerary pottery.

Vats refutes Mackay's statement that there is no evidence of funerary figurines. Some of the figurines are found within the post-cremation jars and are purely funerary. A bangle is clearly seen on a funerary figurine. (*Vats.* Pl. LXXVI).

M. S. Vats has pointed out that some of the paintings on the pots can be explained in the light of Vedic funeral customs. The 'homo' sign within the body of the peacock represents, he thinks, the *sūkṣma śarīra*, wavy lines the Vaitaraṇī river, the hounds chasing a bull—the dog of Yama. The sun symbol, trees and leaves, birds, fishes represent the various elements into which the various parts of man are supposed to merge at the time of

death according to *Ṛg*. X—16—3 and Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra. He thinks that in Ṛg. X—16—6 there is a reference to the exposure of the body first and then cremation and burial.

I shall presently adduce Vedic evidence to show that the conception of after life of the Indus people tallies exactly with the Atharvan conception. Meanwhile let us take the two facts of flexed or extended burial and orientation from east to west or north to south, in the other ancient civilisations.[55]

In Mesopotamia, the Al-Ubaid dead were buried at full length on pot sherds with necklets, armlets and studs of obsidian for the nostrils, as in the II stratum of the Harappa cemetery. In the Jemdat Nasr period, the bodies were placed in a crouched, tightly contracted position with amulets of birds, animals, stamp seals of geometric patterns, and cylinder seals of a new design. In the so-called 'royal' tombs at Ur, wholesale slaughter took place and the bodies were placed in an underground chamber covered with true domes. In the 'Y' trench (the lowest) at Kish there were traces of human sacrifices. In the poorer graves the bodies were placed on the sides in a semi-contracted gently flexed position, holding cups to the mouth with both hands. The bodies were wrapped in matting secured with bronze pins or in wood or basket coffins. Later burials were in terracotta coffins of the "larnax" type. In the Akkadian period the dead were buried beneath the floors of private houses. The bodies were laid on the side holding always a cup of water to mouth. Woolley[56] also says that at Ur-Warka, in the Jemdat Nasr period large clay bowls were inverted over the graves. The bodies were wrapped in matting or in coffins of wicker work, lying on the sides with hands in front of the face and the legs bent, a posture absent in all the later Mesopotamian periods. Woolley mentions that in the earliest graves partial cremation of the head took place in the grave itself, later came burial in a flexed posture. Large clay jars had pots and bones and were considered by Woolley to be foundation deposits but the analogy with Indus burials shows that this kind of jar burial was also practised in the archaic period of Sumer.

55. Childe. *New Light*°; Seton Lloyd. *Mesopotamia*.
56. Woolley. *Royal Tombs at Ur*.

In Egypt[57] the tomb of Sabu at Sakkara conforms to the earliest type of tomb in Egypt. The burial was in a flexed position on the *right* side with the head to the north. Wood coffins were used and there is no mummification in this period. In the tomb of Aha[58] (3400 *B.C.*) there was brick casing for funeral barque. In the tomb of the Second Dynasty the body was in a flexed position on the *left* side, the head to the north. Near the head copper axes, daggers, chisels were placed. The pots near the body were unbroken but others were deliberately broken in ritual. In the early Tasian culture we find contracted burials, outside the villages; at Merinde the burials were within the houses in a sleeping flexed attitude facing east. In Badari and Amratian cultures the burials were in flexed or crouched position in trench graves facing west.

In the Iran high lands, at Sūsa I the burials were flexed as well as extended. Also we find bones gathered together after the flesh had decayed. Frankfort thinks that Sūsa I is the parent of Al-Ubaid culture. In Sūsa II the Elamites were normally interned after the flesh decayed. The bones were deposited in the bare earth or protected by clay sarcophagi or in brick vaults as also at Musyan (Sūsa I *b*).[59]

In Nineveh II *c*[60] influenced by the Halaf and Arpachiyah (IV-V) there was partial burial as in Elam, Nineveh IV and Tepe Gawrah and the funerary jars resemble those of Harappa. The children were buried in jars. At Anau II also the children were buried in a contracted position in jars.

In Syria and Anatolia, at Ugarit[61] (Ras Shamra) in the Level II (C. 2000 *B. C.*) the tombs were rectangular chambers with sloping walls and covered with two big slabs—the fore-runners of the Mycaenean dromos and corbelled vault tombs. At

57. *Ill. L. News.* 27th Feb. 1937.
58. *Ill. L. News.* 12th Feb. 1938.
59. Sydney Smith. *History of Assyria.*
60. Childe. *New Light°.*
61. *Ill. L. News. Nov.* 2, 1929; *Nov.* 29, 1930; *Nov.* 21, 1931; *Mar.* 12, 1932; *Feb.* 11, 1933; *Mar.* 3, 1934; *Ap.* 27, 1935; *Feb.* 12, 1936; *Feb.* 29, 1936; *Feb.* 20, 1937.

Mari[62] (Tell Harri) in the Jemdat Nasr period, three vaulted stone tombs were found below the shrine of Ishtar, with burial furniture.

In Palestine at Megiddo[63] in the Level X (C. 1600 *B. C.*) of the Middle Bronze II, the burials were in an extended position, and the children were placed in jars. In the Level XI (1700 to 1650 *B. C.*) there were tombs of stone under the house floors. At Lachish[64] (Tell Derweir) in the Chalcolithic period the earliest settlements of the troglodytes there were oval burial chambers approached by a narrow shaft, with Mesopotamian types of copper daggers and javelins. Just prior to the Hyksos period there were contracted burials with black pricked juglets, scarabs, bronze-toggle pins etc.

In Cyprus,[65] the neolithic culture of Khirokitia is marked by a sacred enclosure with four skeletons in a contracted position, one being under a rectangular platform. At Erinni and Kyrenia in the earliest (V) layer of the stone age (C. 4000 *B. C.*) a skeleton in a contracted position was found. It is assumed that there were no funeral rites and the dead were buried outside the houses.

In Crete[66] Pendlebury found the first neolithic graves at Ķastellos. In Early Minoan I period the caves became burial places, the old bodies being swept aside for the new burials. In Early Minoan II circular tombs appear with the old style of roofs of reeds and clay. At Messara fires were lit in the tombs possibly for purification, but there is no evidence of cremation. In Early Minoan III larnax and pot burials became the fashion. In M. M. I. circular tombs with votive or funerary deposits and rectangular ossuaries are found. Larnax and pithos burials are now common. In the ossuaries the poly-chrome urns have in the middle a figure of a bird or an ox. In M. M. II rock shelters and circular tombs were still used. In M. M. III there is no change in the burial

62. *Ill. L. News.* *Oct.* 13, 1934; *Sep.* 7, 1935; *Oct.* 30, 1936; *May* 28, 1938.
63. *Ill. L. News.* *June* 20, 1936; *June* 16, 1934; *Oct.* 16, 1937.
64. *Ill. L. News.* *July* 6, 1936.
65. *Ill. L. News.* *Dec.* 23, 1933; *Jan.* 19, 1935; *Nov.* 28, 1936; *Dec.* 26, 1936.
66. *Ill. L. News.* *Nov.* 28, 1936; *March* 5, 1938; *June* 3, 1939; Pendlebury. *Archæology* of *Crete*.

customs. The rock shelters are converted into tombs and pithos burials are common. In southern Crete the circular tombs are abandoned. In L. M. II the royal tomb at Isopata is in the form of a sloping dromos, with a corbelled door-way. In the main chamber was a burial cist and a niche. The tomb of the double axes had a cist in the shape of a double axe. The pithoi are decorated with incisions, papyrus, raised medallions, rosettes, fringed reeds, double axes with reduplicated blades. The larnakes have oval, papyrus and adder mark patterns. In L. M. III pithos burial dies out and larnax burial becomes the regular mode. The chamber tombs are now true tholos. At Tylissos an instance of cremation burial was found. This is the first case of deliberate cremation in Crete, possibly of a foreigner. The painted sarcophagi of Agia Triadha are interesting. There are chariots, one drawn by winged griffins, with two females, one with a tall head dress, another chariot drawn by horses has two female worshippers. There is a procession of women and a flute player passing by an altar over which lies a trussed ox with its throat cut and the blood pouring into a bracket-shaped vase. Below the altar there are two crouched calves. A woman in front with jacked and baggy kilt of mottled skin, the tail hanging behind is pouring something on the altar. Behind the altar there is a double axe with a long shaft and a raven perched on it in front of a shrine surmounted by sacred horns and enclosing an olive tree. On the other side of the larnax, a woman is pouring blood into a cauldron set between two double axes on stands. On each axe is a bird. Another woman has two buckets slung over her shoulders and behind her a man is playing on a seven-stringed lyre. Three men are carrying a boat-shaped object, probably a calf, towards a door-way where a man is shown as rising out of the ground near an altar. Evidently these are ritual ceremonies and offerings to the dead in the secondary burials.

In Moravia[67] a few burials of men in contracted position were discovered. The Danubians were broad headed Anatolians who usually burnt the dead. According to the Myers, the early round-headed people of Central Europe also burnt the dead.

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67. *Ill. L. News. Ap.* 6, 1934; *June* 23, 1934.

The Etruscans of Italy burnt the dead and placed the ashes in large terracotta jars or bronze jars shaped like human beings and placed on bronze chairs. Sometimes also the whole body was placed in a jar. The tombs were on the model of the Etruscan houses. The cemeteries were in a bee-hive form.

In the trans-Indian sites cremation is found at Mehri and Dabarkot. At Shahitump in Makran the interment was both flexed and extended.[68] At Nal [69] and Nundara fractional burial as well as complete burials in brick graves are found. At Gumal the urns for the dead contained small vessels, cups, jugs, blades and stone arrow heads (sometimes bronze pieces) figurines etc. and assigned to 5000 *B.C.* Later graves showed signs of exposure of bodies to birds and beasts before burial. The vessels in the graves contained iron objects and arrow heads.

To sum up this survey:

Burials tightly contracted—Tasian, Merimde (facing east), Badarian—crouched facing west, Nāquada—doubled up after decay of flesh (?), Gerzean—no regular orientation, J. Nasr—strictly contracted or crouched, Cyprus (early)—sitting or contracted.

Extended—Al-Ubaid on a mosaic of broken pot sherds, Sūsa 1 (some also flexed), Samarra—in bricklined cists, Shahitump—extended and flexed, Cyprus (later)—fully extended.

Flexed—Shahitump, Sūsa I *a*, Ur-Early Dynasty—legs at right angles to the trunk. Shahitump bodies facing north, and on the right or left sides, bowls at head and back.

Secondary or Factional—Sūsa I, Early Pre-Dynastic Egypt. Nal—both complete and fractional.

Post-cremation—Erech-incineration of extended bodies wrapped in clay and fires kindled in the hall, bodies partially cremated. Ur-partial burning of the head. Surghul in Akkad (?).

Animal sacrifices—Badari—cattle and sheep ceremously buried. Egypt Amratian—dogs with their masters. Ur-royal graves. Shahitump—charred remains of lambs, goats etc.

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68. *Aurel Stein. Catalogue of Antiquities.* Delhi Museum.
69. Hargreaves. *Excavations at Nal. Mem. Ar. S. I.*

M. S. Vats has pointed out that the two stratas of the Harappa Cemetery are not separated by a long interval. Both may even be more or less contemporary. There is cultural though not ethnic continuity throughout from the Harappa times as proved by offering dishes, red-ware, small vases like carinated pots, round water pots, the *lōṭa* and the deer and peacock motives. Guha thinks that there is a considerable gap separating the jar burials which belonged to a small low headed people like the present aborigines of India. The Harappa remains demonstrate the presence of non-Armenoid and probably also of the Armenoid-Alpine race in the Indus Valley. In the cemetery stratum II and Harappa there is racial continuity of the tall large headed dolicho-cephalic people with long faces and prominent noses as of Mohenjo Daro I, Al-Ubaid, Kish "massive," and pre-dynastic Kawamil skulls of Upper Egypt. Mackay points out that the Mohenjo Daro type A. (big-brained, large-headed, with high cranial vaults, massive prominent supra-orbital ridges and enormous development of the post auricular direction) does not represent the present people of the Indus Valley. Keith thinks that these people are different from the main body of the dolicho-cranial skulls but not proto-Austroloid as they are connected with the Sumerian and Caucasian. They may be termed Caucasic. The earlier race is broad nosed as at Al-Ubaid and is called by Friederichs and Müller Weddid, though there is no connection with Veddas. Further they distinguish four ethnic elements—Weddoid, Hamitic, Mongoloid and Armenoid as in Mesopotamia, (*Anthropos*, Vol. 28. p. 383-406). Type B resembling the present Indus people, represents according to Guha the so-called Mediterranean race, which though physically weaker, was intellectually superior and probably formed the ruling class. This is merely an unproved conjecture.

We shall now study the Vedic funeral customs in the light of the Atharva Veda and demonstrate first, that the Āryans observed not merely cremation but various other methods of disposing off the dead, and secondly, that the evidence of the Indus funerary customs completely proves the Āryan (or predominantly so) character of the civilisation.

Atharva (XII-3) shows that cremation itself is the supreme sacrifice. Sahagamana is probably alluded to in XII-3-2. "Let the Mithunā arise from what is cooked" (pakva) *i.e.* the charred bones. Atharva (XVIII-2-34 and 35) refers to the various methods.

The buried, the scattered (*vap*), the burned, and they that are set up (*uddhitō*)—let all these Pitṛs eat the oblation.

The commentator explains *parōptāh-dūradēśē kāṣṭha vat parityaktāh*. Āpastamba (I-8-7) has ये गर्भे मम्रुः परात्ताः उद्धृताः निखाताः Here burial, scattering of bones, cremation, exposure on an elevated structure or perhaps buried in a sitting posture are alluded to. "Let the *agnidagdha* and *anagnidagdhah* revel on śraddha in heaven". This shows that both cremation and other methods were considered equally orthodox. Atharva (XVIII-3-70) has "Give back, O forest tree, him who is deposited here within thee". Whitney takes this as a possible allusion to burial in the hollow of trees, though it may also refer to the jar of bones deposited at the foot of a tree. The Bṛhad Dēvatā (V-73-78) says that Saptavadhri, the priest of Aśvamēdha of the Bharata clan was placed in a tree trunk and was rescued by the Aśvins.

In the Śatapatha (XIII-8-2-1) it is said that the Devas had open cemeteries, whereas the Asuras had enclosed cemeteries and hid the corpse in an urn or tub (*camū*). Taittirīya Samhita (III-3-8) says अग्निर्वाव यय. इयं यमो कुसोदम· Probably this refers to cremation and earth-mounds like stūpas erected over the bones. The stūpas are constructed on the model of a hair-knot. (*Viṣṇōh stūpōśi* in the Taittirīya Samhita.)

The *prayōga* of the Atharvan funeral mantras seems to be directed only to cremation, internment of bones and *piṇḍapitṛyajña*. The mantras are not arranged strictly according to the procedure. But we can reconstruct the ritual according to the directions given by Kauśika, Kēśava and others. It should be noted that generally the mantras occur in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda and hence the method of the Ṛgvedic times was more or less the same.

Atharva (XVIII-2-19) implies that the man about to die was placed on a bed of darbha grass; the body was laid on a cart for transportation (18-1-54) or on a litter (18-2-48) according to Kauśika. Two bulls or men were yoked to draw the cart (18-1-56). On the way the body is placed and raised up three times (18-3-8); the fire is carried at the head of the procession (18-3-7). Before handling the body, Kauśika says (18-3-55), a prayer is offered to Agni to free the man from the bite of Śakuna, serpent and śvāpada. Kēśava says that in the case of a man bitten by a crow, ant etc. and wounded, the wounded place is first burned with fire. The place of cremation is sprinkled with holy water to drive out all creatures and demons. The body is taken to the pile (I. 18-1-55, 61). Oblations are offered to the fires when preparing the body for cremation. "Death is the kind messenger of Yama" (18-2-27). The pyre piled up (18-1-44). A new cloth (*tarpyā* 18-4-31) for the body (18-2-57), the body was formerly covered up (18-3-30). "Do I set thee in *svadhā*." Kauśika says that the body was fixed on the pile but it is forbidden by Uparibabhrava. The Iḍā bowl is placed on the head on the pile with the other sacrificial implements possessed by the dead man to be burned (18-3-53). "The bowl that Atharvan bore filled up to Indra." The staff from the hand of a Brāhmaṇa, the bow from a Kṣatriya and a maṇi or goad (*pratōda*) from Vaisya are taken off (18-2-54). Ṛgveda mantra is addressed to kṣatriya only, the Atharva to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (VI-1-3) mentions Vaisyas also. The Yajamāna takes a gold piece of the dead man, and smearing it with ghee gives it to the eldest son who with it wipes the deceased's hand (18-4-56).

The *caru* dish filled with butter and honey is deposited at the head (18-3-70). An oblation is offered to Yama (18-2-1.3). "The goat is the share of Tapas" (Ṛg X-16-4). The *anustaraṇī* is a goat bound on the south, sacrificed and laid on the body to be burned (18-2-8). Two kidneys of the sacrificed animal are placed on the hands of the dead man for the "dogs" of Yama. "Run fast the four eyed two dogs of Samā?" (18-2-11). "Wrap about thee of kine a protection from the fire" (18-2-58; Ṛg X-16-7). The *anustaraṇī* is here a cow. The dead man's face is covered

with the omentum pierced with seven holes. On the chest of the dead an offering to Sarasvāti is made (18-3-25). The body is placed supine (18-4-14). Sarasvāti is invoked in Pitṛmēdha (18-1-41-43).

The pyre is lighted. Yama hōma is performed (18-1-49). Sometimes the youngest son lights the fire (18-2-4). The goat[70] is asked to go to prepare the way.

Let them (Sōchi and ramhi ?) collect after the goat as he goes.

What Dasyus have entered among the Pitṛs like acquaintances, eating what is not sacrificed, who bear *parāpur* and *nipur* (sthūla and sūkṣma bodies—commentary, enemies' houses and friends – Whitney) let Agni blast them.

Pass over the stream (aśvāvati) and Ṛkṣāka (the Milky Way—Whitney).

Yama is beyond and Vivasvant below. Beyond that there is nothing whatsoever.

Agni and Sōma, send Pūṣan who shall carry by the goat travelled roads (*ajōyānaih*) him that goes thither.

Whitney takes *anjōyānaih* (leading straight to the goal) as correct, and as opposed to the roundabout route (*mahāpatha paryāṇa*). But the reference to Pūṣan implies goats (Ṛg. VI-55-6-4 ; 57-3 ; X-26-8).

Let the Anustaraṇi cow make the herdsman (gōpati) ascend to Svarga. (Atharva 18-3-4).

The Vaitaraṇi cow led to the pile is released (18-4-57). The bones are gathered after complete consumption. All the parts are to be burnt and nothing thrown down (18-4-12). Whitney quotes Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII-15-3).

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70. The word *aja* may be connected with the Greek word *aigeios*—of a goat. But it is suspected that the connection is late, the original Aigeios is of unknown meaning connected with the Aegean civilisation.

अथ यदप्येनानुत्क्रान्तप्राणान् छूलेन (a bamboo splinter)
समासं व्यतिसंदहेत नैवेनं ब्रूयुः पितृहासीति ॥

The fire is extinguished (18-3-6). Let there grow Kyāmbu, Sāṇḍa dūrvā and Vyalkaśā. Ṛgveda (X-16-13) has kiyāmbu and pāka dūrvā. On the second day a cow (whose calf is dead—*abhi vānya vatsā*) is milked on the place of cremation and an oblation is made on its back.

The bones are gathered bending the knee sitting down on the right. The performer approaches from the west. The bones are collected bit by bit (ghāsa). " Let nothing of thee be left here."

" Go to the Sun with the eye " etc. (*Atharva* 18-2-7). See Ṛg. X-16-3.

सुर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथ्वीं च धर्मणा ।
आपोवागच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितं ओषधीषु प्रतितिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

Also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (V-13).

अस्य पुरुषस्य मृतस्याग्निं वागप्येति वातं प्राणाश्चक्षुरादित्यं
मनश्चन्द्रं दिशःश्रोत्रं पृथिवीं शरीरं आकाशमात्मा ओषधी
र्लोमानि वनस्पतीन्केशा अप्सु लोहितंच रेतश्चनिधीयते ॥

The bones are gathered and arranged in the form of a human figure (18-3-25) on the place of cremation. The women go three times round the relics of the funeral pyre in apradakṣiṇa, with disheveled hair and beating the thigh.

" They overpass defilement (ripra) wiping it off on the metal bowl (? kasya) "—(18-3-17.) The commentary takes kasya to be derived from kīkasa, and to mean a cemetery, from vertebræ (kīkasa). Caland refers to *dhuvana* (fanning the relics) as part of *nidhāna* (depositing). An empty pot (*rikta kumbha*) is set down and beaten with an old shoe. The commentary says that one breaks an empty jar (*rikta kalaśa*) on the night of the day of cremation *i.e.* earlier than nidhāna. In any case Whitney thinks kasya to be (kamsya ?) kalaśa. Offerings are made to Yama. The bones are sprinkled with milk from bunches of grass or plants. They are placed

in a pot, sprinkled with a pot with hundred holes (*śūtachhidra*) or thousand holes (*sahasra chhidra pātra*). A temporary hut is constructed (vimita) in preparation for interment and gruel, rice, flesh, honey and ghee are offered (8-4-42). Oblations to Sarasvāti (18-4-45-47). Apūpas (cakes) are offered to the figure made of bones—two dishes at the head, eight more in eight directions in Pradakṣiṇa order, the eleventh in the centre with a dish of water. Ghee, boiled flesh, milk, curds, honey, mixed grains are offered.

Many plants (*sarvouṣadhī*) are placed in the jar. The jar is deposited in a trench at the foot of a tree (Vanaspati or Vṛkṣa—Sāyaṇa—*pēṭikū* : box ; Whitney—Kophinos).

Let not the tree oppress thee nor the earth (18-2-25).

It is removed from the root of the tree (commentary—provided it is so deposited).

Give back O forest tree, who is deposited here within thee (18-3-70).

The earth is piled up. "The *kasūmbu* (piling ?) is completed. Look down at it," the relatives and all are asked to look at the deposit in the trench (mound ?). The place is to be marked off by an odd number of śalākas and iṣṭakas and patted well. The mound over the jar is perhaps meant, not quite knee-high (अस्थिसंरक्षवास्तु अधोजानु.)

Assisters cover a *kakutsala*, so, earth ! cover him. Interment is with a clod (lōga) of earth for each joint (18-3-52). Whitney thinks the Īśōpaniṣad (V. 15-16) refers to covering the bones with earth.

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।
तत्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥
पूषन्नेकर्षेयमसूर्य प्राजापत्यव्यूहरश्मीन् समूहतेजः ।
यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि योऽसावसौ पुरुषस्सोहमस्मि ॥

Atharva (18-2-51) says "No other place than this is found for him". "I cover thee excellently with the garment of Mother Earth".

Then the *pinḍa pitṛ yajña* is performed in a hole in the ground (18-1-40 *garta sadam*,[71] =*śmaśāna sancaya*). Oblations are made to this fire.

Watery is the lowest heaven (divi); full of stars? (pīlumatī) is called the midmost; the third is the Pradiva of the Fathers (18-2-48).

The eldest son pours water on the attendants. All rinse the mouth and take a bath. Then comes *sapinḍīkaraṇa* (putting together the three rice balls on the barhis).

These hymns make no reference to *śilā snāna* and to the final disposal of the relics in some sacred stream. These practices of modern Brāhmaṇas may be later developments due to Purāṇic (*cf.* Garuḍapurāṇa) conceptions of various hells, re-birth, Vaikuṇṭha etc. The Ṛgvedic hymns seem to contemplate only post cremation urn burial.[72] But throwing the relics into a stream may be also an early practice since in the Harappa urns very few human remains have been found. Otherwise the paintings on the urns seem to demonstrate the Vedic conceptions. M. S. Vats has pointed out that the goat was expected to protect the man from too much heat. He also thinks that the pictures refer to the Vaitaraṇī and Anustaraṇī cows. The plants, fish, water birds, rayed orbs figured on the pottery imply according to him the various elements to which the various parts and faculties were supposed to go. Among the birds the Vāyasa represents Vāyu and the prētas are supposed to be in the form of mind and wind (*manasā vāyu-rūpēṇa*). The hound chasing a bull may be the dog of Yama.

But no explanation has yet been offered for the peculiar idea that the *sukṣma śarīra* resides within the body of the peacock. I think that since in the funeral mantras there are frequent

71. The *Nirukta* (III-5) explains *Garta* as a pillar in the assembly hall of the gamblers. A woman of the south without help ascends the pillar for wealth. (I-24-7). √*gṛ* (true). Transactions made under the pillar are binding. √*gur*=to heap, raise (a mound); a chariot, √*gṛ* (to praise) a praised vehicle. Rudra is *garta sada*. Perhaps the linga is a form of this funeral pillar or mound.

72. See further—Note in Appendix and References.

references to Sarasvātī, that Goddess is represented by her vāhana, a peacock, otherwise it is not possible to explain the appropriateness of offering an oblation to Sarasvātī on the chest of the dead man on the funeral pyre (18-1-41-42-43), and again in gathering the relics (18-4-45, 46, 47). In fact we may conjecture that the funeral urn containing the relics was in the shape of the joined heads and necks of the peacocks—a pattern we find on the funeral pottery and which perhaps gave the symbol =U= to the Indus script.

The custom of erecting mounds over the relics continued down to historical times. In South India *paḷḷis* are supposed to be temples erected over such remains. Usually when a sannyāsin is interred a bṛndāvāna or a śivalinga is established over the grave. Among the Dēvāngas it is the custom to bury the dead in a sitting posture and a house is erected over the grave for worship. Kurubas erect *Pāṇḍu kuḷis* over the graves. The Kurumbas have a *Sāvu mane* (house of the dead—a cromlech) wherein a bone from the pyre is placed. Young children among all castes are of course buried. The fact that many funerary jars were found buried beneath the houses and under the lanes in Harappa may show, not house burials as in the West, but that the relics being purified were no longer considered harmful to the living. Partial cremation and water disposal must also have been common though complete incineration is enjoined in the Atharva. The three main methods of disposing off the dead—complete cremation with the relics thrown into river, flexed and fully stretched burials, and Urn burials may be taken to represent the practices of different castes in the society dominated by a common and continuous civilisation but with varying funeral rituals.

(*To be concluded.*)

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THE MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN ARMY (SĒNAI): THEIR ASSEMBLY AND ITS FUNCTIONS*

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

We see from the foregoing that the Sabhā of the military quarter was variously known as Kaikkōṭsēṇāpatigal, Sēṇaiyar, Śēnāpatigaḷ, Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēṇai,[151] Perumpaḍaiyār,[152] Muṟpērpaḍai,[153] and Valaṅgai Māsēṇai. The Sabhā of the Sēṇaichchēri was brought into existence for receiving the gifts and endowments made by the residents of the śēri; for receiving the gold and land etc. for such purposes for the regular carrying out of the desires of the donees or the objects of the donations or endowments; and for the receipt and execution of all amenities and adjustments that were necessary on behalf of the residents of the śēri. They received and sold lands and issued deeds for the sales effected by them. They sold lands to private persons who gave gifts to their temples.[154] The lands sold by them were also made free of taxes. Besides, the terms and phrases[155] like *emmiliśaindu, vilaipporuḷ ivar pakkal koṇḍu, viṟṟu vilaippramāṇam paṇṇikkuḍuttōm, viṟṟukkuḍutta innilattukku iduvē vilai ōlaiyum iduve poṟuḷ śela-vōlaiyum, vilaikkuṟa viṟṟu, poruḷaṟakkoṇḍu,* and *emmil iśainda poruḷ ellām kaiyilē aṟakkoṇḍu,* which are found in the records which mention them and their transactions are significant. They indicate beyond doubt that they were regularly constituted bodies like the Sabhā, Ūr etc. and that they must have had their

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* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. 3. p. 303.

151. No. 1396 of S. I. I. Vol. IV; No. 542/16; 1406 of S. I. I. Vol. IV: No. 753 of S. I. I. Vol. V; No. 120 of 1905.

152. No. 242 of 1933; No. 433 of 1916.

153. No. 241 of 1933. See also No. 229 of 1933; Mummuṟi-daṇḍas.

154. Purchase of lands by private persons from the body called Muṟpēṟpaḍai are mentioned in No. 241 of 1933. A. R. 1933.

155. For these terms in Tamil see S. I. I. (Texts) published volumes. The above extracts contain only translations of these terms.

own set rules of conduct as had all the local administrative institutions. Else it is inexplicable how they came to an agreement among themselves, received gifts in gold and kind, and conducted the endowments and other transactions to the entire satisfaction of the donees. There is absolutely no ground to doubt the fact that there must have been some kind of regulations to guide the people in their elections and the assembly in discharging its grave functions.[156] The last mentioned record (III) refers to the body by the term Perumpaḍaiyār and shows that it was composed of representatives from the several regiments or battalions of the army, and all the extracts given above disclose that the assembly had the same corporate existence and status as the Sabhā of other villages. In the third extract, the number of representatives were eight from eight regiments. From another record it is clear that besides these functions they managed also the affairs of the military cantonment,[157] and of the temple situated in their quarter. Some of the specific Tamil words that are used in the records of their transactions have been noted above. The fact that the military accountant Paḍaikkaṇakku figures as the scribe of one of their records is important. The existence of a Paḍaikkaṇakkaṉ,[158] for the body of Perumpaḍaiyār (military assembly) is another evidence in support of the fact that the Sabhā of the army was regularly constituted. Paḍaikkaṇakkaṉ or the military accountant was the accountant to the military assembly, as the Sabhaikkaṇakkaṉ,[159] Nāṭṭukkaṇakkaṉ,[160] Nagarakkaṇakkaṉ,[161] and Ūrkkaṇakkaṉ,[162] were respectively accountants to the administrative bodies Sabhā, Nāḍu, Nagara and Ūr.

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156. If they were not regularly constituted bodies with workable procedures and formulated principles, it is impossible to imagine that the donors would have left with them their gifts of various descriptions, and would have returned to their homes with the utter satisfaction that their intended aims for which they made their gifts would be carried out without default.
157. No. 242 of 1933.
158. *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that an accountant called Sēṇāpattiyakkaṇakku is mentioned in No. 572 of 1917.
159. Nos. 438, 729, 744 of S. I. I. Vol. V.
160. No. 22 of S. I. I. Vol. VII. and 409 of Vol. VIII.
161. Nos. 303, 439 of S. I. I. Vol. V.
162. Nos. 977, 986, 1003 of S. I. I. Vol. V; 49/VI; 204, 409/VIII; 43, 44, 45, 48, 104 of VII. A *jivita* to him is mentioned in No. 396/IV.

In the above instances the lands were sold as Caṇḍēśuvaravilai or Caṇḍēsvarapperuvilai. There are other instances of lands having been sold as Sēṉāpatipperuvilai.[163] From the nature of the transactions of some of the records it appears that lands were held on military tenure by contingents of armies, by Sēṉāpatis etc. The following instances will bear out this conclusion. No. 194 of 1926 belongs to the time of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājēndra Cōḷa III, and registers the agreement given by Periyāṉ Aḻagiyaperumāṉ *alias* Sōḻagaṅgaṉ of Paiyūr in Paiyūrkōṭṭam of Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷamaṇḍalam *alias* Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, to levy taxes at certain fixed rates on the lands held by him as *paḍai-paṟṟu* (military tenure). No. 196 of the same year's collection registers a Sarvamānya grant of land, for keeping watch over the villages Madukkūr, Vēppanguḷam and Muttakkuruchchi, in the troublous times following Kōṉērirāja's flight from Trichinopoly in a certain year. There are numerous other instances where lands are said to have been granted as *paḍai-paṟṟu*.

The body of Sēṉai also joined with other assemblies and performed certain common functions. An instance of their conjoint action is noticed in their undertaking to carry out the object for which a gift was made, on behalf of another body. On a reference to the abstract of contents given above of No. 603 of S. I. I. Vol. V. (I), it will be observed that the latter part of the document is an undertaking by the body Sēṉai, on behalf of the Padipādamūla Paṭṭuḍaiya Pañcācāryas, whose sale of land to the donor to enable him to

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163 (*a*) S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 504 mentions as a boundary the Nandavaṉam (flower garden) obtained as a Sēṉāpatipperuvilai by a certain Iḷaiya Triuttāḻvaraidāśar and others.

l. 10 Vaḍavoḻugu Iḷaiya Tiruttāḻvarai.

11 dāśar-uḷḷitta Śrī Sēṉāpatipperuvilaikoṇda Tirunandavaṉattukku mēṟku.

(*b*) S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 454.

ll. 23-4 Inda dharmam Acandrārkśthāḷiyāga nadakkumpaḍikku Śrī Sēṉapatipperuvilaiyāga-kkuḍuttōm.

(*c*) S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 160.

Nāyaṉār Aḻagapperumāḷukku Śrī Sēṉāpatipperuvilaiyāga Nilavilaip-pramāṇam paṇṇikkuḍuttōm.

make his endowment, is detailed in the first half of the same record. The body, Sēṉai, received the two *kaḻañju* of gold and undertook to feed the members of the Srīkōyil of the place, once in a month, without fail, as long as the Sun and Moon endure, and they shared the responsibility on the condition that they were not to show *iṟai*, *echchōṟu*, *veṭṭi*, *āṟṟukkulai* and all others on the said ½ *vēli* and 3 *mā* of land sold to the donor.

From a record from Kudumiyāmalai,[164] dated in the Thirty-sixth year of Kulōttuṅga I, it is learnt that the blameless five hundred men constituting the army of the district called Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḻavaḷa-nāḍu, were appointed to supervise an arrangement, the business of which was the supply of areca nuts to the temple. In other records it is found that the different kinds of Vēḻaikkāra regiments were in the charge of the management of minor shrines and had also to provide for the requirements of them. Others took money from the temple on interest.

The above mentioned were not the only ways by which the Sēṉai (military assembly) mingled and worked conjointly with other assemblies. Persons from Sēṉaicēri are reported to have been selected, to test the fineness of gold that was current in a village.[165] The record referring to the same, registers "that a standing order was made by the assembly of Uttaramēru Caturvēdimaṅgalam fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them, and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work"[166]. Of the nine persons who were selected by the pot-ticket system, two were chosen from the army. It is also interesting to note that the regulation seems to state when that the selected persons were performing their appointed task of testing gold, they were to be paid monthly 7½ *mañjādi* of gold, perhaps as remuneration for their work.[167] The record adds that they were

164. No. 353 of 1904.

165. No. 295 of S. I. I. Vol. VI. See for an edition of the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 145.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ibid.*

subordinate to the Tank Committee. Another instance of payment for work done by a person from the quarter of the army can be cited. A record gives out that a girl (*nakkaṉ*) Anandam, who came from the sixty-second house in the Sēṉāmugam of Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, was allowed to receive a share which consisted of 1 *vēli* of land with a nett yield of one hundred *kalams* of paddy, for her services (*paṇi*) in the temple of Rājēśvari.[168] Further, we have instances of Sēṉāpatis who were the heads of their quarters, being sent by royal order to inspect and check the accounts etc. of temples, and among such occasions embezzlements or misappropriations of gold, silver etc. were detected.[169]

Another of the important functions of the military associations, which counted among their members, many soldiers worthy on account of the power of their arms, was the protection of the wealth of the country, especially the temple and its treasury. From the evidence of numerous inscriptions, it is clear that the temples which lay scattered all over the country, had in them big treasuries which were known as Paṇḍārams or Karuvēlams, where much wealth and gold were usually deposited. The wealth of the temple treasury was immense on account of the several images, ornaments, gifts and presents from kings and chiefs, of various descriptions which were all mainly of gold, silver and precious stones of the highest value, that were deposited in it. Besides these, huge quantities of paddy and other materials were in the custody of the managers of the temple and its treasury. In fact the numerous inscriptions are but simple records of the many endowments of variegated nature, gifts of paddy, gold, and animals like cows, sheep etc. that were made from time to time. From what has been said above it will be apparent that the wealth of the temple was huge and immeasurable and as such it required the best of protection in the country. Besides, as we have already shown, many kinds of business transactions were conducted within the precincts of the temple. Again, it was a busy centre on account of the many festivals and important events all through the year. That the best

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168. S. I. I. Vol. II. Pt. III. 66. 1. 247.
169. A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1915. p. 98

protection was given to the temple is evident from the fact that the tried and trusted regiments of the realm, and the military assemblies, are found attached to the temples. They not only safeguarded the temple, but as we have seen above engaged themselves in other forms of activities also, the nature of which have been detailed already. The following instances will illustrate the fact that the temple was well guarded.

(*a*) An inscription from Tiruvālīśvaram [170] registers the various victories gained by the Cōḷa army called *Mūnṟukai Mahāsēṉai* and records that the temple at Tiruvālīśvaram, its treasury, and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the army.

(*b*) A Sērmādēvi record [171] of the twenty-sixth year of a certain Kulōttuṅga, contains a regulation or Dharma which states that the four boundaries of Tirumukkālvaṭṭam which was consecrated to the Paramasvāmigaḷ of Abhayaśthāṉa in Śrībhaktavrayam, the flower garden, the persons connected with the temple, things in use as *parikkalam*, *parichchinnam*, *āḍai*, *koḍi*, *ābharaṇam* etc. were under the protection of the *Paḍaipiḍitta Pallāyiravar* of the *Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēṉaiyār*. It adds further that those who trespass or act against this Dharma, will be punished and that those who honour the law will be honoured by them with elephant and garland.

(*c*) A *Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription*, [172] states that the temple shall be under the protection of *Paḍaipiḍitta Pallāyiravar*.

(*d*) An inscription from Pattamadai records that the temple of Āiyirattenma-viṉṉagar-emberumāṉ was placed under the protection of *Mūṉṟukaiyar*. [173]

(*e*) It is stated in a record, [174] that the man who does anything against the gift of land (Dharma) would be condemned as

170. No. 120 of 1905.
171. No. 753 of S. I. I. Vol. V.
172. No. 616 of 1917.
173. No. 542 of 1916.
174. No. 1406 of S. I. I. Vol. IV.

having destroyed the three *kōyil* (Buddhist) and to have escaped from the *Mūṉṟukaiyar*, meaning the escape from the torture of the safeguarding body of militia men.

(*f*) A record from Ceylon,[175] is interesting for it states that the great temple of the Tooth relic was declared to be under the protection of *Mūṉṟukai Tiruvēḷaikkārar*, by the Royal Preceptor when he was seated along with the ministers of the king. The Vēḷaikkāraṉ gave the temple the new name Mūṉṟukai Tiruvēḷaikkāras Daladāyapperum-paḷḷi—meaning the great temple of the Tooth relic of Mūṉṟukai Vēḷaikkāras. In order to make it remain as their charity and under their protection, *one servant* and one *vēli* of land (for his maintenance), were assigned *from each regiment*, and the body bound themselves to protect the temple, its servants and treasures etc. The several groups that constituted the Vēḷaikkāras signed the agreement.

Lastly it remains to be mentioned that in inscriptions the *ājñapti* was very often the commander of the military forces[176] *Sēnādhipati*,[177] or *Balādhikrita*,[178] and sometimes the king's private secretary *Rahaśika*.[179] In Ceylon grants, the so-called ancestors of the *dūtakas* are, very often, either military officers or the chief secretary who is called Mahalē and occasionally the Royal treasurer Kudasalānāvan.[180] Two military officers took part in the proclamation of the edict.[181] It is worthy to note in this connection, that

175. No. 1396 of S. I. I. Vol. IV.

176. In this connection it is interesting to note that Haśtikōśa and Vīrakōśa appear to have been offices, and Hastiyadyakśa was perhaps similar to the office of Haśtikōśa. The officials figure in many records and the execution and protection of the grants were entrusted to them. See Gōdāvari plates of Rāja Prithvīmūla J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 144. Pulōmbūru grant of Mādhavavarman I. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II. Pt. I. pp. 1-17ff.

177. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 295.

178. Bühler Indische Palaeographie 95.

179. Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 21.

180. Ep. Zey. Vol. III, p. 110.

181. *Ibid*. p. 100.

in the Tamil inscriptions, in addition to their signatures as *ājñapti*, the clauses like '*idu nam Sēṉāpadikkum okkum*', [182] are found added.

RESUMÉ

In the above pages, we have followed the clear testimony of literature and epigraphy and come to the conclusion that the ancient South Indian army was composed of war-chariots, elephantry, cavalry and infantry; that as days progressed, war-chariots were out of use and came to be associated with the Royal insignia of honour; that the position and rank of Sēṉāpati was one of the highest in the kingdom; that they were governors of territorial units and chiefs of divisions of the country; that mercenary troops called Vēḻaikkaras were largely prevalent in South India and Ceylon; that owing to the lack of Royal favour in the form of Jīvitas and Vrittis, or on account of some similar cause, they degenerated into a multitude of castes of which Paḍayāchi, Arasavaḻḻi, Gauṇḍas, etc. are modern representatives; that local cantonments and garrisons existed; and that recruitment to the army was never restricted on communal grounds. Further we have learnt that the army had a geographical standing or special quarter which was called Sēṉaichchēri; that the Commissariat department was also functioning with their commercial quarters which were known as Sēṉaiyaṅgāḍi; and that it looked after the supply of food and the other needs of the army whether it was stationed in its unit or while on its march. From Literary sources, we have seen that there were assemblies of bodies like Sēṉaipperuṅgaṇi or Peruṅgaṇichchaṅgam which worked for the army; that they must have been assemblies necessarily got up by order, with set rules of conduct and formulated principles and procedures. We have made out from a study of selected epigraphical references that the Sēṉaichchēris or the quarters of the armies had assemblies of their own which were called variously as Perumpaḍaiyār, Sēṉaiyār Mūṉṟukai-Māsēṉaiyār, etc. that from an examination of the nature of the transactions, the form of procedures adopted, and the numerous specific terms and phrases that are found employed in the records

182. No. 750 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

which give them out, it is clear that the Sabhā of the quarter of the army was a regularly constituted body which conducted all its transactions, receiving endowments made to temples, undertaking to execute the requirements intended to be provided for by the donors, effecting sale of lands etc.; and that the assemblies and the regiments under them were entrusted with the protection of the temple and the treasury. We have also seen that very often the Sē̤ṉāpati was *ājñapti* of the grants; that though the persons were members of the contingents of armies, whose life-business was to fight for the country, yet they took active interest in all matters of public life; that instances of their keen interest are forth-coming and that Sē̤ṉāpatis were sent by kings to temples for purposes of supervision, inspection of accounts and the various duties of the temple officials. We have also noted that the members who formed themselves into the assembly (Sē̤ṉai) were entitled Araiyars and Nāḍāḷvārs and were each one of them representatives of regiments; that the assemblies of the military quarter also acted conjointly with the other local administrative bodies: that persons from their quarter were selected to serve under other committees on special work like the testing of the correctness or purity of gold current in a village; and that on such occasions their emoluments were fixed. In fine, we have seen that the military assembly was one among the ancient administrative bodies like Sabhā, Ūr, Nāḍu etc. having the same corporate existence, and consisting of a head, a scribe and an accountant, with the other minor requisites of regularly constituted bodies.

(*Concluded*)

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SHAKESPEARE AND VEDA-VYASA

(Two Pen-portraits)

BY RAO SAHIB N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

Madālasa and Shakespeare's Hermionè

THERE is a beautiful and soul-stirring episode in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, which relates the romantic story of Prince Rtadhvaja and his wife Madālasa, the daughter of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu. Rtadhvaja, the son of King Śatrujit of the Solar Race, was a virtuous prince who always spent his time in the company of good and virtuous young people of his age and in studying sacred literature and doing service to the people of the kingdom. The sage Gālava was afflicted by a Rākṣasa, Pātālaketu, son of Vajraketu. One day, while he was looking at the sky in a mood of despair, he saw a horse coming down from the sky. This horse, which was capable of taking its rider anywhere at will, was sent by Sūrya to Gālava with instruction that this horse called Kuvalāśva, as it could move round the world at will, should be ridden by Rtadhvaja for the end of the Rākṣasa. The sage took it to Śatrujit, told him the story of the horse and took the prince on the horse to his Āśrama.

One day, Pātālaketu visited the Āśrama as a pig and afflicted all the people in the Āśrama. Rtadhvaja mounted the horse and attackd the pig. It gave the slip and fled. The prince pursued the pig. The pig entered an underground hole and disappeared. The prince went down through the passage on the horse. Soon he was in Pātāla and saw there bright light and a fine mansion. There he saw a beautiful maiden, who ran upstairs, as soon as she saw a human being. The prince also went up and saw the maiden seated on a cot. She got up and showed respect to him. But she spoke not a word. Both felt love for each other. The maiden could not think of him, as she was in the possession of the Rākṣasa, who had brought her away from her father's

garden, while she was there with her maid Kundala. Kundala too was with the Gandharva maiden Madālasa. She swooned in love. The maid Kundala came up briskly, fanned the maiden and spoke to the prince. Only on the previous day Surabhi, a virtuous lady, had, during her pilgrimage, visited the mansion and said that, on the next day, Madālasa would be married by a prince, who would kill the Rākṣasa and relieve her. When Madālasa came to know that Rtadhvaja had fulfilled that very purpose, she was duly married to Rtadhvaja by Tumbura, the priest of the Gandharvas. Rtadhvaja killed the Rākṣasas and went to his city with Madālasa. Kundala advised both about the duties (Dharma) of family life and went off for penance.[1]

Śatrujit asked his son to go round the kingdom everyday on his horse and see how people were progressing. In his rounds, one day, he saw a Muni on the banks of the Yamuna. He was neither a Brahmin nor a Muni, but Tālaketu, the brother of Pātālaketu, who had been waiting for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance against Rtadhvaja, who had killed his brother Pātālaketu. Pretending to the good prince that he thought of performing a sacrifice and was in need of money for dakṣina, he took from the unsuspecting prince his fine and costly neck-ornament. He then asked the prince to stay in the Āśrama until he went to Varuna and came back. The prince stayed there with his horse. The Muni entered the river at one and rose at another place and straight went to the palace of Madālasa and told her that her husband had been killed while fighting against a band of Rākṣasas near his very Āśrama. He said Rtadhvaja had given him that neck-ornament. A Rākṣasa had taken away the horse too. He presented the ornament to Madālasa and disappeared. At once Madālasa, who loved her

1. The Winter's Tale V. iii. 130-135.

(Paulina) "Go together,
You precious winners all ; your exultation.
Partake impart to every one. I, an old turtle,
Will wing me to some wither'd bough and there
My mate, that's never to be found again,
Lament till I am lost."

husband virtuously, fell down and died.[2] Śatrujit and his queen felt glad that the prince had died valorously fighting against the Rākṣasas and that Madālasa had, like a true wife, died the moment she heard of the demise of her husband. The citizens were all sorry for the double mishap to the royal family. The obsequies were duly performed.

Tālaketu appeared before Rtadhvaja and gave him leave to go home. He mounted his horse and reached the city. He was received with pleasure and wonder. He learnt the whole story from his father. He took courage under extreme affliction and resolved not to marry during his life. While he did all duties carefully, he lived in a state of subdued grief.

He had two close friends, who were the sons of the nāga chief Aśvatara. They used to stay everyday as Brahmin lads with Rtadhvaja and be at home in the nether region during nights. One day their father asked them about their daily sojourn to the human world and learnt the story and the glory of Rtadhvaja. They told him the story of Rtadhvaja's adventures, his winning the Gandharva maiden Madālasa and his losing her by the mischief of the Rākṣasa. Aśvatara thought he should do a piece of good service to Rtadhvaja. He went to Himālaya, meditated on Goddess Sarasvāti and obtained the boon of being, with his brother Kambala, master of music. Both the brothers then went to Kailāsa and sang the glory of Mahādeva. Mahādeva asked Aśvatara what he wanted. He said that he and his brother should become masters of the science of music and that Madālasa should at once be born as his daughter exactly as she was at the time of her death and with the memory of her life before death. Mahādeva granted the boon and told Aśvatara that, to get back Madālasa to life, he should perform a Srāddha and eat the middle of the three pindas, placed down by him in honour of the dead. Aśvatara did so and Madālasa came out of the middle one of his five hoods. He was glad; and she was entrusted to a maid to be kept in his harem without any one's

2. Hermionè swoons during the trial, on hearing of the sudden death of her son. (W. T. III. ii. 147) Paulina takes her away and tells the king that she is dead.

knowledge. Even his sons did not know about the miracle performed by Aśvatara.[3]

One day he asked his sons to invite Rtadhvaja to the nāgaḷoka.[4] They did so and when Rtadhvaja visited the nagaloka, Aśvatara showed all honour and hospitality to the prince and asked him to take anything from his nether-region. The prince wanted nothing and he declared he was quite happy in every way under his father's roof. He would not give out his pining grief for his wife. But the lads told their father that he was secretly brooding over the death of his dear wife at a time when he was not with her and by the mischief of the Rākṣasa. Then Aśvatara was told by the sons that they could do a bit of good service to the prince, if he could use his spiritual powers and show his dead wife once to Rtadhvaja.

Then Aśvatara told them that he could produce the princess to be seen by the prince, but he should not exhibit mortal love for her, for she was not among the living then.[5] He agreed, but when, Madālasa was actually produced before the prince, he forgot his promise and even the law of decorum. He rushed towards her crying out his beloved's name. He was stopped by Aśvatara. The prince could not bear the strain and he fell senseless. Aśvatara relieved him from the *Moha* (delusion) and told him all that he had done for Rtadhvaja to show the gratitude to the virtuous prince of himself and his sons. Rtadhvaja took Madālasa with him, and with the leave of Aśvatara and his sons, rode off to his city on his wonderful horse, Kuvalāśva. He told his father all that had taken place and was happy again in his kingdom.

While reading this episode in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, one cannot but feel that the character of Madālasa in the episode is the ultimate basis of Shakespeare's *Hermioné* in *The Winter's Tale.* The Winter's Tale was the last of Shakespeare's plays and surely it is the play that shows the internal development of the poet's

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3. *cf.* The part of the Delphic Oracle in the Winter's Tale.

4. Note the change of scene from Sicily to Bohemia in "The Winter's Tale."

5. Paulina makes Hermioné, a statue, "but newly fix'd' the colours not dry." (V. iii. 47)

spiritual nature.[6] Unlike the other plays of Shakespeare it is neither a comedy nor a tragedy but a tragi-comedy. A student of Shakespeare who reads his early plays, comic, romantic and historical, and passes through his mature and soul-stirring tragedies, Macbeth, where the hero and the heroine are ruined by ambition ; Hamlet, where the mentally over-burdened prince sacrifices his soul and body at the altar of duty ; Lear, where a sensitive father ruins himself for his sentimentality ; and Othello, where the Moor, a misfit, though a gentleman, for a lady of a high and noble family, brought up in a tradition different from his own, ruins his and her life and feels, a moment too late, for his sin is relieved while he reads this beautiful tragi-comedy, which, as the last play of the poet, looks as if it was meant to teach us that it represents life as it really is, a great tragi-comedy, if we are spiritual, a comic-tragedy, if we look at life with a material eye. The tragedies are at first comic and at the end tragic, because the heroes lay too much store by the pleasures of this world. The Winter's Tale is of the opposite type and is spiritually valuable showing us the path to Eternal Peace through self-examination and timely repentance. The original of Shakespeare, the story of Pandosto by Greene, does not take us far in explaining or realising the spiritual background of the play of Shakespeare. Greene makes it undramatic and unspiritual. It becomes tragic under its own load of feeling. Shakespeare has woven the comic element into the tragic element in an exquisite manner. He must have got at the make up of the story of Madālasa in some form, at some time and through some source. That was the time when English adventurers were visiting India and getting faint cultural contacts with this vast Eastern continent of Spirituality[7].

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6. Introduction to "The Winter's Tale"—(The Irving Shakespeare). Arthur Symons says:—We close The Winter's Tale with a feeling that life is a good thing, worth living ; that much trial, much mistake and error, may be endured to a happier issue, though the scars, perhaps, are not to be effaced. This end, on such a note, is indeed the mood in which Shakespeare took leave of life—in no weakly optimistic spirit, certainly, but with the air of one who has conquered fortune, not fallen under it—with a genial faith in the ultimate result of things.

7. The Portuguese poet Camoers, the auther of the Epic Luciod, took for his theme the discovery of India by the Portuguese. He served as a soldier in India for ten years from 1553. Shakespear's Wintere's Tale was produced in 1610.

I shall now place in juxtaposition some points of contact between the two stories, so that the reader may form his own judgment.

MADĀLASA	HERMIONÉ
The virtuous wife of Rtadhvaja.	The beloved wife of King Leontes.
Lost through the mischief of the Rākṣasa, Pātālaketu, who had lust for her. Restored to Rtadhvaja through the spiritual power and the sense of gratitude of Aśvatara and his sons.	Imprisoned and ill-treated by the good king, under the influence of fell jealousy. It ruined Othello and Desdemona, but it saved the hero and the heroine here by the intervention of the superhuman labour of the good Paulina.
Mahādeva gave the Gandharva maiden back to life, to please Aśvatara and Rtadhvaja.	The Oracle at Delphi did foretell good for the king, who was struck with grief and repentance, after he had lost his good queen under the evil influence of jealousy 'the green-eyed monster'. (Othello III. iii. 166).
Madālasa was restored to life just as she was when she died, so that the prince might at once recognise her and take her with mutual remembrance. That is possible for Gods to do, not for a human being like the good Paulina.	Paulina kept Hermioné for sixteen years in hiding and when Leontes was shown the queen, she was sixteen years older than when she was dismissed by the king with hatred and passion.
Aśvatara laid down the condition that Rtadhvaja should	One should read the most exquisite scene, in "The

MADĀLASA	HERMIONÈ
not go near or touch Madālasa. When Rtadhvaja was asked not to approach or touch or speak to Madālasa, he fell in a swoon, overcome with grief, born of love. Aśvatara told the story of the rebirth of Madālasa and handed her over to the prince.	Winter's Tale" to know the mind of the Master-Dramatist of England, who drew from any source but made the manner all his own. The action of Paulina is most artistic in the play. A Study of Act. V. Sc. iii. is necessary to appreciate the full-fledged dramatic art of Shakespeare. Paulina leads the good and the repentant king to recover Hermionè by slow stages telling the king that the statue of Hermionè, represents her, as she would be, if she had lived those sixteen years, is a dexterous suggestion to the king to expect to see his wife's form, sixteen years older than when he last parted from her. Greene calls this in Pandosto, the *Triumph of Time.*
Aśvatara said that he would use his Tapas or Māya to show Madālasa to Rtadhvaja.	Paulina's words are suggestive :— It is well. It moves. It lives. There is an air comes from her.

MADĀLASA	HERMIONÉ
	The ruddiness upon her lip is wet, (to prevent the king's hastily kissing her).
	"I'll make the statue move indeed, descend. And take you by the hand: but then you'll think . . . . I am assisted by wicked powers."
	Music is called and the queen is asked to descend and take the king by the hand. The king is reconciled and his doubt removed, he gets back his wife. Leontes and Polixenes are reconciled.
	The son of his friend Polixenes, whom he suspected at first, now has been loving the daughter of Hermionè, whom the king had ordered to be thrown away in the woods, taking her to be a shepherdess and the two are married. Paulina is rewarded with the hand of the truthful friend of Leontes, Camillo.

Thus in the drama, Shakespeare has wonderfully knit the tragedy into the comedy and exhibited the philosophic basis of life, that *Sukha* and *Duhkha* (Happiness and Grief) alternate in life and one should not be too glad in happiness or too moody in grief.

That is the great basis of our Hindu philosophy and in his most mature years Shakespeare too must have felt the force of that theory of life, which makes life balanced and peaceful, amidst the trials and the changing fortunes of life.

That Shakespeare should have received the story of Madālasa in some form is certain from the texture of The Winter's Tale, especially in its second part, and what Greene did not accomplish, Shakespeare accomplished, by making the superhuman side of life subserve the human part of it, so that the purpose of God may always be fulfilled in life, by making the human and the superhuman bases of life really one and continuous, at the bottom and at the top. The distinctions are all in the world, where we often act as if we cannot hear or do not hear the Divine Voice. The hand of God is seen in every action and movement of man, if only we could see. That is the fundamental truth underlying all the plays of Shakespeare and it is distinctly worked out in The Winter's Tale, as in the story of Madālasa, as related by Veda-Vyasa in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa.

Note—That Shakespeare could have and should have known something of our literature is seen for example in "*As You Like It*," *Act. II. Sc. iii*, where Adam says to Orlando that his brother Oliver means to "burn the lodging" where he used to lie, and him "within it".

Who will not recollect the *plot of Duryodhana* to burn the Pāndavas, his cousins, whose virtue and glory he could not see without pain, in the house of lac at Varanāvata. There are such touches in the Plays of Shakespeare which show that the great Poet of England drew a bit of his spiritual inspiration from the great writings of the greatest of India's Ṛṣis, Veda-Vyasa.

Hamlet and Pradyumna

We associate *the Age of Shakespeare* with three important characteristics, Euphuism, Romance and Pastoralism. These three are found in the romantic story of Madālasa, if one could compare the texture of the story with the spirit of the *Age of Shakespeare*.

The pedantry involved in the euphuistic style of some of the characteristic writers of the early Elizabethan Age, the spirit of

adventure and the love of novelty patent in the new ideas of literary form and structure in the age and the pastoral background of the literature of the age cannot all be explained only from the commonly given cause of the Renaissance in English literature, as the result of the dispersal of classical scholars and their literature from Greece and Rome after the fall of Constantinople. The classics of Greece and Rome were not unfamiliar to the English students at the Universities even before 1453. Even in the Norman age and the age of Chaucer, literary inspiration did arrive from other parts of the European continent with which England was in social, religious and political contact. We must, therefore, look for the new features of the renaissance of the adventurous age of Elizabeth in other quarters. It is not against probability in the history of literary taste and literary forms, if we attribute the new features to the contact of the European adventurers with Indian culture and civilisation, just at that very point of time, in the history of Europe.

There is a very fine parallel between *Shakespeare's Hamlet* and *Veda-Vyasa's Harivaṃśa*, which relates the life-story of Śri Kṛṣṇa, the greatest Hero-divinity of India. In Harivaṃśa II. 91-97, a very romantic episode is given of the way in which the Asura Vajranabha was destroyed by Śri Kṛṣṇa with the aid of his son *Pradyumna*. Indra devised the plan of creating love between Prabhavati, the daughter of Vajranabha and Pradyumna, the son of Śri Kṛṣṇa through the embassy of swans[8]. The king of the Asuras, Vajranabha was gradually inveigled into foolish faith in the credentials of the swans who became his story-tellers.

Śri Kṛṣṇa sent Pradyumna and a host of Yadava warriors to the city of Vajranabha in the disguise of players of purāṇic themes. The players, with the leave of the Asura, camped in a neighbouring village and gave their shows. They were later invited by the king to the palace to give shows. The descent of Ganga from svarga was shown with suitable music and dance. The curse of Nala-Kubara on Ravana for his *lust for Rambha*

8. That was how Nala and Damayanti loved each other at first. (Bhārata—Vana Parva).

was shown realistically. But the Asura could not see in it the secret love that had been growing between the king's daughter and Pradyumna. Through the swans, the *Prince of Dwaraka* and the daughter of Vajranabha were actually married within the palace of the Asura and yet he knew nothing. When matters became public, the Asura ordered Pradyumna to be killed. But Prabhavati herself helped Pradyumna with the weapons of war. A long fight ensued and Śri Kṛṣṇa also arrived and Vajranabha was killed and Pradyumna and Prabhavati went to Dwaraka in all glory. The romance of the story is exquisite.

In Shakespeare's Hamlet, the *Prince of Denmark* who is a great student of literature and a young man of fine literary taste requisitions a set of players to stage before King Claudius, his uncle, within the palace, a play improvised by Hamlet himself with a dumb-show preceding it, to find out how the king, guilty of the murder of Hamlet's father and unlawful marriage with his mother, would react to the play, so that he could test the veracity of the message of the ghost of his father to him. Being a man of a highly philosophic temperament and cultured taste, the Prince of Denmark would not do anything vile against the guilty uncle, though the latter ever hated Hamlet. In fact Hamlet even foregoes the love of Ophelia and is prepared to lay down his very life at the altar of duty and truth, or dharma and sathya, as we would call it. But he would do nothing in haste and would not kill Claudius, while he is praying to God, for he would go to Heaven, if he were killed then. This spirit of dharma is more Hindu than Christian. The inter-play in Hamlet and the dumb-show have their counterpart and sure suggestion in the story in the Harivaṃśa. The commentators are not able to find the exact purpose of Hamlet in devising two plots, the dumb-show and the inter-play. It is to make himself doubly sure of his aim. The dumb-show and the inter-play have their counter-part in the play and the Dance with Music in Harivaṃśa.

If one studies with a knowledge of both the English and the Sanskrit literatures, one could easily discover the origin of the three characteristics of Elizabethan renaissance of English literature, Euphuism, Romance and Pastoralism and in Sanskrit

literature. Euphuism is both in the borrowed thought and form of expression and in plot-construction. Romance is found in the novel themes of Sanskrit literature which deal with the long struggle between the Devas and the Asuras. Pastoralism is the European representative of Indian Āśrama-life in the woods of the Ṛṣis and the Munis who lived in nature and loved the objects that were of and nearest to nature. It is only if we understand this aspect, that we could realise the spirit underlying the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Arnold, Rossetti and other stalwarts of *the Age of Romance of Nature and Spiritual Life* in the Nineteenth Century. Carlyle and Browning speak the language of Indian vedānta and Indian spirituality. The contact of English literature with Indian literature in the Elizabethan Age has indeed revolutionised Christian philosophy and Christian spirituality. When Dean Inge speaks of spiritualising patriotism and politics, he is speaking in the language of Bhiṣma and Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata.

Note—A few striking parallels between the words of Shakespeare and the words of Veda-Vyasa might convince the readers of the contact between India and Great Britain in the cultural field in the age of Shakespeare, even if we cannot show, from internal evidence, such a contact in the earlier ages. One who studies Chaucer's Astrolabe may easily see the contact between the East and the West as early as the Fourteenth Century. The condition of the feudal society of Europe in the Middle Ages must show the contact in the structures of society in India and in Europe at about the same time.

The words of Macbeth to the murderers engaged by him to do away with Banquo find their parallel in the words of Kaṃsa to his court-wrestlers Chanura and Mushtika, when Kaṃsa wanted to get rid of Śri Kṛṣṇa and his brother Balarāma, so that his career as the King of the Yadavas might be an unobstructed one. (Harivaṃśa, II, 28). (Macbeth murdered Duncan and got the throne. Kaṃsa deposed his father Ugrasena and became the ruler of the Yadavas.)

The description of the moving mountain in the Mahābhāratha, Vana Parva, Ch. 135, is reproduced in the description of the moving forest in Macbeth, V. iv.

Macbeth. II. ii. 59-63.

"What hands are here? ha! they pluck out mine eyes!
Will all great Neptune's Ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green-one red."

just after Macbeth murders Duncan and comes out.

cf. Skanda Purāṇa-V. Avanti Khanda-iii. Rewa Khanda-Ch. 49.

Śaṃkara kills the asura Andhaka with His Trident (Śūla), sits on Kailasa and finds that the blood of the asura sticking to the trident world not be cleaned. He goes to all teerthas and dips the trident in the holy waters but the trident does not shake off the blood-drops. At last on mount Bhṛgu, in the Vindhya Range, on the banks of Narmada, it is cleaned with the water of the Śūla-bheda teertha.

When Hamlet is sent to England by his uncle Claudius with the instruction that the prince should be done away with there, he manages to get into possession of the secret letter from the pocket of one of his escorts, while searching in the dark for his sea-gown. Then he takes the letter, places in its stead another letter making the escorts themselves the victims. Then a pirate boat attacks the boat of Hamlet and he escapes into that boat and returns to Denmark. The plot further goes on. (Hamlet V. ii.) In the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, Ch. 33, Madālasa gives her son Alarka a gold ring when she goes with her husband to the forest, and asks him to open it and take out a message she leaves for his use in time of extreme distress. The message is written by her on fine silk and placed within the ring. It so happens that Subahu, the elder brother of Alarka, sets up the King of Kāśi to invade the kingdom of Alarka with a view to turn him from the way of worldly life. In extreme distress, Alarka opens the ring, sees the message of his learned mother, goes to the sage Dattātreya, learns Divine Wisdom from the sage, gives up the fight for power and wealth, and goes to the forest, placing his son on the throne. He practises yoga and realises his *atma* and attains mukti. There is sure echo in the two situations. The background in Hamlet is material, while it is spiritual in the Purāṇa of Veda-Vyasa.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS. NEW SERIES No. VI.

On the Ancient Greek Myth about the Metamorphosis of Philemon and Baucis into two Sacred Trees.

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IF we examine the mythology of ancient Greece we will find that there were current among the ancient Greeks many myths and legends about the lives and doings of the gods and the goddesses and about their dealings with human beings. One beautiful and touching specimen of these myths is that about an old man named Philemon and his wife Baucis. It runs as follows :—

Once upon a time, there was a town of which the people had become hard-hearted and wicked. These people were so inhospitable that, instead of welcoming strangers and guests they treated them very rudely. Far and wide, this town became notorious for its lack of hospitality.

In the outskirts of this town, there stood a thatched cottage in which dwelt an old couple named Philemon and Baucis. Although they were very poor, they were very hospitable and were always glad to share their last crust of bread with anyone who came to their humble cottage.

One evening, two strangers came to this town and requested some of the towns-people to furnish them with a meal and a lodging for the night. Not only was this refused but they were rudely turned out from their doors. At last, they came to the humble cottage of Philemon and Baucis who not only welcomed them very gladly but also entertained them very hospitably notwithstanding their own poverty.

Now, the two strangers who had come to Philemon's cottage were no other than the two gods Jupiter and Mercury. They had been so much angered by the rudeness and inhospitality of the town and its people that, on the very next morning, they destroyed it and all its inhabitants with the exception of only Philemon and Baucis. The two gods had been so much pleased with the kindly

hospitality of these two old and poor man and woman that the former changed their humble and thatched cottage into a magnificent temple and appointed them to be its custodians for the remainder of their lives. The divine guests further granted their old and poor hosts the boon that the two latter would die simultaneously so that one of them would not remain alive to mourn the death of the other. In fulfilment of the further boon granted them by the two gods, Philemon and Baucis, after their deaths, were metamorphosed into two majestic trees, their branches intertwining as though they were whispering loving secrets to each other. These two magnificent trees stood for centuries before the temple of Jupiter, and pilgrims used to come and hang garlands of flowers on their branches as tokens of their respect and loving appreciation of the deceased old couple Philemon and Baucis.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

(1) In ancient Greece, the people believed that the gods and goddesses used to come down to the earth from heaven and to mix familiarly with human beings.

(2) The gods used to punish wicked cities and their vicious inhabitants by destroying them altogether.

(3) On the other hand, the divine dwellers of the celestial regions used to appreciate virtues in human beings and to reward the virtuous suitably.

(4) The ancient Greeks also believed that the gods could, at their sweet will and pleasure, change human beings into trees and flowers, either by way of reward or out of pity for the latter's sufferings.

(5) The ancient Greeks used to worship sacred trees and to present to them votive offerings in the shape of garlands of flowers.

(6) The ancient Greeks regarded the post of the custodian of sacred shrine or temple as a very honourable appointment.

THE NORTH-WESTERN RECENSION OF VĀLMĪKI-RĀMĀYANA*

THERE have existed for centuries at least three well-marked recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and they are usually known to modern scholars as the North-Eastern, Southern and North-Western. The first two are available in print in the costly and rare edition of Gorresio (1850) and the editions printed in Bombay or Madras with such well-known commentaries as the *Bhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja (fifteenth century) and the *Tilaka* of Rāma, which claims like the other and more famous commentary named above, to be based on the older commentaries of Maheśvara Tīrtha and the anonymous *Kataka*, which is still older. For the Southern recension we have a still older commentary in the mixed Sanskrit-Tamil dialect, known as *Maṇipravāla*, and bearing the name *Taniśloki*, composed in the thirteenth century. There is evidence that there were still older commentaries in South India, in which there has been a continuous tradition of interpretation which was passed orally from generation to generation. South Indian commentators have also exercised considerable care in trying to secure a pure text by rejecting interpolations. The very old vernacular versions of the great epic in different parts of India furnish a means of determining the subject-content of the epic as received in different regions and epochs.

The existence of recensions, markedly differing from one another, is not confined to the two national epics. It is found even in the case of a well-known classic like the *Śākuntalā*. Vālmīki's great work still awaits a critical reconstruction, based on all available manuscripts taking count of all available commentaries and examining the variants in the manuscripts of all extant recensions. This is being done for the *Mahābhārata* in the great edition undertaken by the Bhandarkar

* The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki in its North-Western Recension, Sundarakāṇḍa, *ed.* by Viśvabandhu Śāstri, pp. 106, 648, D. A. V. Sanskrit College, Lahore. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

Oriental Research Institute. The D. A. V. College of Lahore has rendered a great service to scholarship by undertaking the publication of the text of the North-Western recension on the basis of manuscripts of it that it has collected. The aim has simply been to present in print a convenient text of this recension showing firstly the variants of this recension as ascertained from a number of manuscripts, and secondly to indicate the verses which are peculiar to this recension and not to be found in either or both the rival recensions. For purposes of *rough* comparison, the standard texts of the two other recensions are taken to be the edition with the *Bhūṣaṇa* printed by T. R. Kṛṣṇacārya and T. R. Vyāsācārya at Bombay in 1912, and Gorresio's text (1850) representing the North-Eastern or Bengali recension. This arrangement though convenient, in making it possible to provide a useful comparative edition showing the main variations to be seen at a glance by a reader of the new edition, is obviously defective. Neither of the two rival recensions used was subjected to any *exhaustive* reconstruction on the basis of a sufficiently *large* number of manuscripts pertaining to the region in which the recension is current. Over a hundred manuscripts at least go into the collation of the Poona *Mahābhārata*. A stupendous task of the kind has yet to be undertaken for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Till it is done, it is ungenerous to quarrel with an attempt like the D. A. V. College's to present a convenient text of the one unprinted recension that scholars could deal with only in manuscripts till its appearance. It presents at least the framework for more exhaustive comparisons that must precede the production of a definitive text of the epic, showing its subsequent modifications.

The Research Department of the D. A. V. College and its small staff deserve thanks for having produced the successive volumes with commendable quickness. In the space of twelve years the first five kāṇḍas have seen the light. The *Sundarakāṇḍa*, the most popular section of the poem, is now available. Śrī Viśvabandhu Śāstri, its erudite editor, has prefixed to the volume an elaborate introduction covering 106 pages. He deals in it very thoroughly with the features of the manuscripts used

(ten in all) and the principles followed in preparing the text. He shows that the text preserved in these ten manuscripts (which may be deemed representative) follow a common textual tradition (pp. 5-56). But, among themselves they show minor variations. Thus, in dividing the text they do not follow any uniform standard, and the *sargas* of the *kāṇḍa* vary from 85 to 103, and the actual number of verses of this *kāṇḍa* in the manuscripts utilised varies from 3806 ½ to 3612 ½ (p. 29). Within the number two groups are noticeable, though even within a group, each manuscript shows independent entity (p. 48). The manageable size of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the great sanctity attached to it in daily recitation or reading, must account for the jealous care with which the individuality of each manuscript is maintained.

It would be natural to presume that, apart from variations due to time and independent evolution, the texts of the two Northern versions are sufficiently marked off from the Southern recension to form a single recension. On the basis of an elaborate examination, Śrī Viśvabandhu Śastri finds that the extent of deviation of form and substance is so great between the two Northern recensions as to necessitate their being treated as quite distinct (p. 58). The divergence in topical content is noteworthy between the three recensions, as illustrated in this *kāṇḍa*. The three begin and end the *kāṇḍa* differently. The North-Eastern edition begins with the first view of the ocean, which the south-bound army of *vānarās* had from the summit of Mahendragiri, and it ends with the story of the completion of the *setu* and of its watch by Vibhīṣaṇa. The Southern recension begins with Hanūmān's flight by air to Lankā and ends with Hanūmān's assurance to Rāma of the speedy rescue of Sītā, at the end of his description of his interview with her. The North-Western recension begins with Hanūmān's arrival in Lankā and his observation from the summit of Trikūṭa. It ends with Rāvaṇa's remonstrance with his counsellors after the enemy had crossed into Lankā. The North-Eastern recension of this *kāṇḍa* comprises thus, as compared with the Southern, 4 *sargas* of the *kāṇḍa* preceding and 22 of that succeeding. While the Southern text divides the *kāṇḍa* into only 68 *sargas*, the North-Eastern makes 107 *sargas* of its

text, while the North-Eastern version has 95 *sargas*. In extent the North-Eastern, North-Western and Southern texts cover 3308, 4202 and 3948 *ślōkas*. Out of the North-Western text as many as 1294 verses are wanting in the North-Eastern text and 1163 in the Southern, and as many as 554 verses are missing in *both* the rival texts, so that about 13 per cent of its text is exclusively its own in the North-Eastern text. The valuable tabular statements on pp. 64-71 show the topics which are included in the North-Western text but are wanting in each of the other two, and *vice versa*.

The antiquity of a North-Western text like the one now published is seen from a comparison of its *exclusive* features with the *Rāmāyaṇamanjari* of Kṣemendra (pp. 75-76). A verse found in the North-Western text and cited from the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Mammaṭa found only in the North-Western text alone of this *kāṇḍa*. The verses cited by Lakṣmīdhara in the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* (C. 1110 *A.D.*) from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which I have been unable to trace in the Bombay editions, probably occur in the Northern recensions.

In answer to the complaint made by a reviewer of an earlier *kāṇḍa* in the series, an elaborate indication of the editing technique is now furnished on pp. 78-106.

The text itself is printed in fine readable type, with divisions of compound words, and marginal indication of their occurrence or otherwise in other recensions. The foot-notes give the readings of the manuscripts used, Manuscript No. 4837 (आ) which bears the date V. S. 1646 (C. 1589 *A.D.*) being used as the text, for the initial collection (p. 78). The division of compound words, though opposed to correct usage, is convenient for locating textual variants.

Śri Viśvabandhu Śāstri has met, in his preface (pp. 10-12), the criticisms of Dr. S. K. De of an earlier edition, and shown that the aim of the edition was misconceived and the meaning of an important marginal indication misunderstood.

The scholarship and loving care with which the edition of the North-Western text of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* has been prepared and the typographical difficulties successfully overcome by Śrī Viśvabandhu Śāstri are beyond praise.

K. V. RANGASWAMI.

REVIEWS

The Dvaita Philosophy and its Place in the Vedānta—By Vidwan H.N. Raghavendrachar, M.A. Studies in Philosophy No. 1. Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

VIDWAN Raghavendrachar of the Department of Philosophy of Mysore in this work attempts to show how the weakness in Advaita and Viśistādvaita systems of philosophy was overcome by Madhvacārya, after giving a brief summary of the Advaita and Viśistādvaita systems to make the discussions of the Dvaita more intelligible. According to him Advaita considers *Brahman* as *nirguna* and the world as *mithya*. The term monism is applied to Advaita as not free from defects. One in many cannot be justified with reference to it, for there is no sense of many and therefore no occasion for the sense of one since according to Advaita the world is traced to two entities, *Brahman* and *māya*. Even to hold that *Brahman* is the ground of *māya* needs a justification because *Brahman* which is *cit* and *māya* which is *acit* can never be brought together. The term qualified monism is applied to Viśistādvaita. How far according to this system *Brahman* could be regarded as one needs justification because the so-called *Brahman* in this system consists of elements that are distinct from it. Further, how far *Brahman* is the source of reality of the world also needs a justification because this sole giver of reality to the world is not consistent with the position of this system. According to Dvaita Vedānta *Brahman* is the source of the reality of the world whether the world is in the form of cause or in the form of effect. It has in itself no distinction and it has nothing equal and nothing higher. This explains how *Brahman* of Dvaita Vedānta has a higher conception than *nirguna Brahman* of the Advaita and Iśvara of Viśistādvaita. Thus the monistic or absolutistic thought started by the *puruṣasūkta* of the Ṛgveda substantiated by the Upaniṣads, justified by the whole of the vedic literature and illustrated by the smṛtis like the Mahābhārata finds clear expression and recognition in the Dvaita

Vedānta. Hence, philosophical reflection in India has reached its culmination in Dvaita Vedānta and without a study of this system, therefore, one's knowledge of Indian thought is not complete. Professor A. R. Wadia in his short foreword says very properly that though the Vidwan's exposition may not be able to carry conviction to Advaitins and Viśistādvaitins it may go a long way to prove that Dvaita Vedānta has philosophical merits. The glossory and the index have added to the usefulness of the book; so also to the lengthy introduction to the Vedānta system. The author is to be congratulated on his achievement and the publishers on the splendid get-up of the book.

N.I.

P. Deussen's Interpretation of Vedānta—By A. C. Mukerji, University of Allahabad Studies, 1939. Philosophy Section.

MR. A. C. MUKERJI, Reader in Philosophy, Allahabad University, has in this pamphlet subjected Deussen's interpretation of Vedānta to a rather lengthy criticism in view of the influence it has exercised upon the subsequent interpreters of Śaṃkara. He has removed many misconceptions which Deussen's interpretation has helped to perpetuate and some of which, though of a rather serious character, still continue unchecked and unchallenged. The author has done a great service in making clear the Vedānta system of Śaṃkara.

N.I.

Ṛgveda Mantras in Their Ritual Setting in The Gṛhyasūtras (with special reference to the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra) ; & Non-Ṛgvedic Mantras Rubricated in The Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra : Sources and Interpretation—By Vinayak Mahadev Apte, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab), Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Price Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 3-0-0 respectively.

V. M. APTE, Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, has in the first pamphlet under review made a careful examination of every single mantra

citation in the literature of ritual as to the applicability of the mantras to the rites in which they are liturgically employed and has come to the conclusion that the framers of the rituals honestly attempted to fit the mantra citation well into their ritual setting. In the author's opinion the relation obtained in the mantras and the ceremonies in which they are employed is not as superficial, the appropriateness of the mantras is not as verbal as is often supposed and he has established this opinion of his by taking up for detailed examination the case of the Ṛgveda Mantras cited in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. At the end of this pamphlet is given in tabular form a classification of the Ṛgveda Mantras in the order in which they occur in the Ṛgveda Saṃhita subdivided into five classes, Sacramental, Invocational, Mythological, Oblational and Superficial. The pamphlet deserves to be read by everyone interested in the subject.

In the second monograph under review Dr. Apte has made an investigation into the sources and interpretation of all mantras other than those taken from Ṛgveda but liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. In this monograph the term mantra is made to connote all kinds of liturgical formulas. A list of vedic texts referred to or cited in the investigation with abbreviations of their titles is given at the end of the work under the heads of Saṃhitas; Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads; Śrauta-Sūtras; and Gṛhya-Sūtras. The monograph is very interesting and the author has given a good exposition.

N.I.

An Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa—By C. Narayana Menon, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. Published by S. C. Guha, Editor, Indiana, Gandhigram, Benares.

AMONG the three classes of books mentioned by Bacon, Dr. Menon's brief but profound essay on the Rāmāyaṇa belongs to the last class which has to be read, re-read and digested. His style is delusively simple; but compact of thought and concentrated in expression, his thesis is nothing less than a brilliant vindication of India's traditional approach to the Rāmāyaṇa. He has taken into consideration the versions of Vālmiki, Tulsidas and the poet of

Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇa into consideration and has many valuable things to say about their several presentations of the redeeming story of Rāma. Those who have read Dr. Menon's Shakespearean criticism will not be disappointed with his next effort in criticism. But this essay being profoundly suggestive is by the same token both stimulating and provocative. And those who care for it may accept the challenge that he scatters about—the magnificent attack on Aristotle's theory of Eatharsis, the no less effective criticism of the modern curiosity about the private lives of poets and so forth. Suffice it to say that Dr. Menon has written a valuable and challenging essay, which deserves to be read by all who are interested in Indian culture.

M.R.S.

Excavations at Rairh During the Samvat Years 1995 and 1996 (1938-39 and 1939-40)—By Dr. K. N. Puri, Superintendent of Archæology, Jaipur State. Price Re. 1-0-0.

To the spade of the archæologist, Jaipur, offers a rich field. It is a matter of gratification to note that the State is keeping pace with British India and the Indian States like Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad in unfolding the ancient history of our motherland. The report under review embodies the results of excavations conducted at Rairh during two successive seasons. The work on the site was begun by the late Rao Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the reputed archæologist, whose sudden death took away from the field of archæological research a scholar of great attainments. Later the work was continued by Dr. K. N. Puri, the present Superintendent of Archæology of the State.

The ancient site at Rairh came to be known as a result of a chance discovery of silver punch-marked coins by a peasant boy. The remains laid bare reveal the presence of three different periods of occupation, the earliest strata going back to the Mauryan times, the second of about 180 *B.C.*; marking the disintegration of Mauryan Empire and the third period belonging to the close of the second century *A.D.* as evidenced by the discovery of numerous copper coins of the Malevas who acknowledged the overlordship of the Mauryas and Sungas. Among

the antiquities unearthed were punch-marked coins, pottery plaques representing the mother goddesses, iron and steel objects, beads and pottery. A number of furnaces excavated testify to the fact that Rairh was a flourishing industrial town. A large number of pottery, ring-wells or pits are found. Similar ones were unearthed by Sir John Marshall on the Bhir Mound at Taxila, and also at a number of other sites like Ujjaini and Sravāsti. As Sir John Marshall says they might have been soakpits and they were not probably granaries used by the people to store grain. As regards the religion of the people the available evidence points to the worship of the mother goddesses although the cult of Ṡiva and Pārvati was not unknown. Influence of Buddhism, though not marked, may be traced in the discovery of a fragment of Chauar sand stone bowl, a few pieces of highly polished Buddhist pottery and steatite caskets similar to relic caskets.

A new feature of the report is the insertion of numerous line drawings of pottery, tools, beads etc. which may prove very useful in a comparative study of the objects discovered at other important places. The illustrations are beautiful and copious and repay careful study. We hope that the excavations at Bairat Nailiasar-Sambat and Rairh which have yielded valuable results would offer enough encouragement to further archæological discoveries and there will be no surprise if one day the eastward traces of the Indus Valley culture are brought to light within the bounds of Rajaputana from where the Mohenjo-darians procured their semi-precious stones and copper.

D.S.A.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Baroda State, for the year 1938-39. Price Rs. 3-12-0; **The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavathi in Baroda State:** Archæological Series Memoir No. III. Price Rs. 5-8-0; and **Ancient Vijñaptipatras**: Śrī Pratāpasiṁha Mahārāja Rājyābhisekha Granthamālā. Price Rs. 9-11-0. By Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Śāstri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

WE congratulate Dr. Hirananda Śāstri, Director of Archæology in Baroda State on the excellent reports he has published. Exploration work was continued at Gohilwad *timbo* near Amreli

and at Sahasralinga reservoir. The work of listing the monuments in the state after close verification is continued. The temple of Jasamalanāth at Asoda is remarkable as it exposes some of the features of the Hoysaḷa and Cāḷukyan types with which we are familiar in the Mysore State and its neighbourhood. A flight of the temple of Asoda and the pannels, carvings on the parapets are very distinct and interesting. But for the pagodas which are distinctly of modern type one would mistake them for a South Indian Shrine. The Gandevi inscription of the Kadamba King Shashṭha II appears to be the first Kadamba record discovered in Gujarat. It commences with Shashṭha I who marries Nāyavyadevī with son Śrī Nāgavarmā who married Mālayadevī with Gūhalladeva as their son who married Gauravyadevī and whose son was Shashṭharāja or Shashṭha II. This ruler who is claimed to have conquered the kings of Saurastra, Anga, Kalinga, Malava, Maharāstra, Āndhra, Vindhya and Kāñchī defeated the Simhala Kings Prasika and Lanka in naval fight suggesting Simhala as distinct from Lanka. Whether they are between two islands or places as Kalhana remarks in the Rājatarangini or nearby places with *prasasti* as a wedge in between them we do not know. He takes it that the Rākṣasas of Lanka saw the armies in Simhala and together with their stuccoed mansions, trembled thinking of another impending invasion by Rāma. Pārasikas referred to are perhaps the Parsis of those days who had become turbulent and were anxious to assert themselves. Shashṭha is supposed to have reached Prabhasa which is an interesting evidence of Indian rulers being acquainted with naval war-fare in those far off places in the first half of the eleventh century. The Anastu copper plate grant of Karka Śuvarnavarṣa in the Sakā year 739 is engraved in characters which are the successor of the Vallabhī alphabet with traces of the precursor of modern Kannada but written in Sanskrit. It was issued from Ketaka, the head-quarters of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣtrakutas in the Lata-mandala. It records the gift of the village of Majjārgaṇī in the Bharukachchha district to the Brahmana Bhatta-Śrī-Bhatta son of Kukkura. Its scribe was Śrī Nemāditya, son of Śrī-Durgabhaṭṭa the *kulaputra*. The record ends with the sign-manual of Karkarāja-deva, son of the illustrious Indrarāja. The grant gives the

genealogy of the Rāṣtrakuta Kings of the main branch up to Amoghavarṣa I and others.

The architectural gems of Baroda are found in Dabhoi. These monuments attract visitors from East and West who seldom return without visiting these magnificent structures of medieval Gujarat. Since the publication of the book entitled 'The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat' by Burgess and Cousens the vast material available up-to-date had not been made use of or particularly readily accessible to visitors of these famous antiquities. We are now having new material added in large quantities. Some of the additions are very noteworthy for they establish the date of the monuments with certainty after the identification of the names of the architects which settles their age. This place is a junction station of the Baroda State Railway situated about eighteen miles South-east of Baroda itself. Dabhoi is a derivative of the Sanskrit term Darbhavati.. *Romakasiddhanta*, an astronomical treatise mentions Dabhoi indicating that the town was in existence in about the sixth century of the Christian Era. The name of the place occurs in several Jaina works. Dr. Śāstri gives a traditional account about its designation and gives a description of the several monuments and inscriptions contained in the place and the other parts of the Baroda State which refer to it. It was a fortified town in the thirteenth century though now the fortifications are dismantled. The Baroda Gate is the best preserved and is the most imposing. The column of the Gates is very good. The Kālika-manta temple has undergone substantial repairs but the exterior still retains the original striking features of the pillar. It is profusely ornamented with sculptures and contains many sculptures illustrating texts taken from Hindu Mythology. The illustrations in the text are excellent and it is hoped that the readers will be inspired to pay an early visit to these well-known antiquities. Colonel Doddard made a rapid movement on Dabhoi and took it in 1799. In 1783 Bharach, Dabhoi, Sinor and other districts were restored to the Marāṭhas and Forbes had to leave Dabhoi which he began to love so much and its original memories are to be found in his verses giving expression to the effusion of a

heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from this peculiar situation and hints at the insecurity of the life after all.

> "The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
> Turn Ashes—or it prospers, and anon,
> Like snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
> Lightening a Little Hour or two—is gone.
> "Think! in this battered Caravanserai
> Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
> How Sulṭān after Sulṭān with his Pomp
> Abode his Hour or two, and went his way."

We congratulate Dr. Śāstri on the excellent work he has been doing for the Archæology of Baroda State. The last work by Dr. Śāstri as Director of Archæology in the Baroda State is Ancient Vijñaptipatras of Śrī Pratāpasiṁha Mahārāja Rājyābhi-sekha Granthamālā Series. The series is to commemorate the accession to the Gadi of His Highness Mahārāja Pratāpasiṁha Gaekwad as the Dewan Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar in a short foreword to this publication has remarked. In an American journal, 'Asia' Dr. Sāstri published a short study on the subject of this memoir and this opened up a comparatively new field of research and he took up a more detailed examination of these documents and this work embodies the results of a careful study and will be found interesting on account of the light they throw on the conditions of Western India in the period covered by the documents. Cultural movements affecting any part of India are welcome and those who take an interest in placing the knowledge they possess before research workers may be regarded as benefactors of India and our gratitude goes to Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar and the Baroda Durbar for allowing to Dr. Śāstri to examine the documents for the purpose. The documents cover a wide range and their usefulness in illustrating many a dark page in the history of Gujarat-Kathiawad cannot be gainsaid. Pictures of the varying strata of society are found for the first time and the available source book of Indian History of these parts is here. Jainism in these parts played a great part in preserving the indigenous culture in the midst of actually disturbed political conditions of medieval India, as we also know from these documents. Vijñaptipatras were

chiefly meant to invite a Jaina acārya or preceptor to stay with a Jaina Sangha or community of a particular locality during the next *chaumasa*, *i.e.* the period of the four months of the rainy season when touring is not allowed to a Jain monk. Some of them are very excellent compositions like the Induduta of Vinayavijaya written in imitation of the Meghaduta of Kāḷidasa. Dr. Sāstri on the methodology of the Vijñaptipatras has followed the *Patrakaumudi* of Vararuchi. Of the several documents mentioned is the firman of Jahangir dated 1580; a fragmentary scroll of the early seventeenth century belonging to the early Mughal period and later ones are mentioned; some old Indian letters exhibiting cultural, historical and archæological points of view of the period: *E. g.* the so-called Cānakya's letter found in the Mudrarākṣasa of Viśākhadatta and another attributed to *Tishyarakshita*, the dissolute young woman whom Aśōka married in his old age and a third refers to the letter of Pushyamitra to his son Agnimitra as found in the Malavikāgnimitra of Kāḷidasa and the last about the purchase of a slave-girl and the method of writing bonds of slave-girls, say in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the Vikrama Era 1288 in an attack made on foreign states, the slave-girl Panutī by name, who is of fair complexion and sixteen years of age brought by the illustrious Raṇa-Pratāpasiṁha was sold at a public place putting grass on her head with the knowledge of the public *i.e.* the five principal citizens and the four varnas, for 504 drammas from the dealer Asadhara for the performance of the work of female slaves. The slave-girl should perform faithfully all the duties in the house of the dealer. Her work is specified, her rights and duties are set-forth and the penalties with which they will be enforced are mentioned. The bond is attested by witnesses. The illustrations are excellent and the index is copious.

S. S.

List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras—(Compiled up to 31st March 1938). Price Rs. 5-8-0 or 8*s*. 6*d*; **Subject-Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936**. Price Rs. 3-8-0 or 5*s*. 6*d*.—By Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A. Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

RAO BAHADUR Krishnamacharlu has compiled a list of inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, till 31st March 1938 containing a detailed list of contents, the date and the place of find of the inscription, the works in which they are to be found and the kings to whom they are related are all mentioned in adequate detail to locate the inscription and collect every information available regarding it. The Subject-Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936 fulfills a long felt want. We are anxious indeed that a similar work on Mysore Epigraphy will be published at no distant date and that Mr. Krishnamacharlu will bring the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency up-to-date.

S. S.

Index to The Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of the Government of India for 1912-1919 and Part I from 1902-1918.

Price Rs. 7-8-0 or 11*s.* 6*d.*

THIS completes the index to the Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India till 1929 but yet leaves many years behind. A comprehensive index to the whole work of the Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India in one handy volume would be very much welcome even if it would mean thinner paper, smaller type and double column printing.

S. S.

Administration Report of the Śrī Chitralayam for 1116 M. E. Trivandrum.

WE congratulate the Chitralayam on its successful completion of five years of useful service and commencing the sixth year. It is notable that the entrance fee has been abolished which has added to the appreciable increase in the number of visitors. Eighty-one new additions were made to the Chitralayam including copies of murals, frescoes from Ajanta and Bagh and paintings donated by philanthrophic gentlemen.

H.R.

A Report on the Working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai. For Fasli 1350 (July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941).

WE are glad the Museum is maintaining its popularity and during the year under report the number of visitors rose to

1,25,204. Seventy new exhibits including a fine specimen of a copper Narasimha standing on his right leg, left being bent up at the knee and held up. A Natarāja, Śivakāmi, a seated devi identifiable as Bhuvaneśvari and a six-armed dancing Gaṇeṣa or Nṛtyagaṇapati are the interesting bronzes discovered at a breach of the Brahmapuram Sarvamanya tank. A figure of a durga as Mahiśāsuramardhani, a pedestal with the bufallo-head of Mahiśā-sura in front and the *tiruvāci* in three separate pieces found in the site of a Jaina temple at Sembattur is an important find. Two stone inscriptions of the time of the Cōḷa Kings Parākesari Vijayalaya and Parākesari Parāntaka I in Tamil characters, the earliest to mention the famous Tamil Merchant Guild called *Nanadesa-tisai-ayivrattu—ainnurruvar* or *Valanjiar ainnurruvar* were added to the Museum during the year. Excavations were conducted also at Kodumbalur in Aivar Kovil which revealed a temple facing west consisting a composite *garbagṛham* including five shrines and to the west of it an *ardhamantapam*, a large pillared *mahamantapam* and a smaller *nandimantapam*. Two bas-relief pannels of dwarfs or *bhutas* squatting or blowing into a conch are *in situ*. Seven inscriptions on the mouldings of the mantapams refer to this temple as Aintali. The peculiar architectural features and inscriptions roughly help to find out the date or period of its construction. The appendices give the number of visitors during the year, specimens and books added to the Museum, list of conserved monuments and notes of inscriptions noticed during the year. We have no doubt the Pudukkottai Durbar will give every encouragement to this noble work of the State Museum.

H.R.

Bussy in The Deccan—Being extracts from "Bussy and French India" by A. Martineau. Translated by Dr. Miss A. Cammiade, L.M. & S. Published by the Society for the History of French India, Pondicherry. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

BUSSY is one of the remarkable figures in the history of the French Colonial expansion in India. As no narrative giving full and authentic details about Bussy is available, any attempt to throw

some light on the career and work of this Frenchman deserves gratitude.

Prof. A. Martineau is a French scholar and a historian of repute who has conducted valuable researches in French Colonial history. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Miss Cammiade, his work, Bussy and French India is now available to the English known public.

The book under review, Bussy in the Deccan, though an extract in itself, gives us a fairly comprehensive idea of the career and part played by Bussy in the complicated affairs of the Deccan politics, who played a greater role than any other man save Dupliex in the eighteenth century. Nurtured in the traditions of Dupliex and contemporary of Dupliex and Lally, though at variance with both of them, Bussy was destined to witness the beginning as well as the end of the French dominion in India. Bussy ranks in history not merely as a military genius but also as a diplomat and perhaps in diplomacy he even surpassed Dupliex, his master. Martineau is all praise for him and often descends to hero worship. However, he has thrown considerable light on this obscure period of Deccan history. Our only regret is that his account is mainly based on French Records and contemporary English, Persian and Marāthi sources which have not been here touched upon would have been highly valuable to form a correct estimate of Bussy.

Dr. Miss Cammiade's English version containing extracts from the original French, often lacks continuity and appears disjointed. But she has succeeded in conveying the spirit of the original. An introduction and an index would have been useful to the readers and we expect that they will find a place when a second edition appears. Our gratitude is due to Dr. Miss Cammiade who has rendered a great service to those who are unable to read Prof. A. Martineau's work in French by rendering extracts from the original into English which we hope will be widely read and appreciated by all students of Deccan History.

D. S. A.

ENGLISH—SANSKRIT

Sriman Mahābhārata Tatparya Nirnaya of Srimad Ānanda Teertha (Part I, Adhyayas I to IX) with English Translation of the orginial text and notes from the unpublished commentary of Śrī Vādirāja Svami thereon—By B. Gururajah Rao, B.A., B.L. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

SRIMAN Mahābhārata Tatparyanirnaya is one of the reputed works of Śrī Madhvacārya whose pontifical name is Śrimad Ānandateertha. Mahābhārata is considered by many as the fifth Veda and the learned acārya has in this book consisting of thirty-two chapters brought out the religious and philosophical import of that national heritage Mr. B. Gururajah Rao has taken up the arduous task of translating this important work into English and has published the first nine chapters and it is hoped that he will be enabled to complete the task undertaken by him. In this Tatparyanirnaya the tenth chapter has been devoted to the avatar of Bhagavan Badarāyaṇa or Śrī Vyasa, a very fascinating subject which has been splendidly dealt with by the acārya. Further Bhimasena is given the first place among the Pāndavas. Mahābhārata is said to depict the fight between goodness and virtue on the one side and evil on the other side. Bhima represents goodness and virtue whereas Duryodana represents the opposite. Rao Bahadur B. Venkatesachar in a foreword deals with each chapter of the book, rightly remarking that those who cherish the desire to understand the precious religious philosophy treasured in the Epic but are not able to read the original must feel grateful to the author for having placed before them a translation of the work. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

N.I.

SANSKRIT—HINDI

Pāli Jatakāvali—By Pandit Batuknath Sharma, M.A. Published by Master Kherilal and Sons, Benares City. Price Re. 1-0-0.

OUT of five hundred and fifty-seven jātaka stories recorded in the Pāli language, the author has selected twenty stories, abridged them with Sanskrit cāya and Hindi translation. Besides a short summary,

the work also contains an introduction in Sanskrit, a synopsis of grammar and a Pāli-Sanskrit glossary. The stories selected are interesting. The work is a laudable attempt to introduce into the Sanskrit knowing public the vast store of Pāli literature.

P. S. L.

SANSKRIT

Sāmavedasaṃhitā—Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon). Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.

SĀMAVEDASAṂHITĀ is the second contribution of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja to the Adyar Library Publications, the first being Ṛgveda with the commentary of Mādhava. In the book under review there are two commentaries on the Sāmavedasaṃhitā, one by Mādhava, son of Nārāyaṇa who belongs to about 600 *A.D.* and the other by Bharatasvamin, son of Nārāyaṇa, who belongs to the early fourteenth century. The author has utilized a very large number of manuscripts in bringing out the edition. It is hoped that in the second part which is to come the variant readings found in the different manuscripts, some indices and appendices as also some notes will appear. The commentary of Mādhava is confined to the pūrvārcika while that of Bharatasvamin to the uttararcika. The division adopted in this book is into Prapāṭhakas and Daśathis. For easy reference a comparative table of those different divisions as also serially numbering according to the Vedic concordance of Bloomfield is given at the end of the work. The last four verses of the fifth Daśathi of the third Prapāṭhaka which were omitted by over-sight from the body of the book are also given at the end of the work. The Adyar Library deserves the thanks and congratulations for the publication and the get up of this useful work.

N.I.

Sarvasamavṛttaprabhavah—By C. Venkataramanayya, Bangalore City.

THIS work on Sanskrit metre by Mr. C. Venkataramanayya is very lucid and the last chapter on calculations of the number of various metres of various gaṇa-syllables will amply repay a careful

study. Dr. R. Shama Sastry of Mysore has given his opinion on the publications of the author including this book under review and we echo the same.

N.I.

Yajñaphalam of Bhāsa with introduction in Sanskrit—By Rājavaidya Jivarama Kālidasa Sastri. Published by the Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, Kathiawar. Price Rs. 5.

YAJÑAPHALAM is a Sanskrit play in seven acts, edited by Śrī Kālidasa Sastri, based on two manuscript copies of the play called *Yajña Nātaka* and *Yajñaphala Nātaka*, collected and preserved by him in his library. One of them written by Svami Suddhananda Tirtha bears the date 1727 Vikramasamvat (1670 *A. D.*); the other written by Devaprasada Sarma at Hastinapura is dated 1859 of the same era, (1802 *A. D.*). Śrī Gopaladatta Sastri has supplied grammatical notes on some of the solecisms of the play.

The theme of the play is the story of the Bālakanda of the Rāmāyaṇa with a few minor deviations. The play concludes with the marriage of Sīta, which is the phala of Janaka's Yajña, while Rāma's handling the Śivadhanus, the condition on which Sīta could be married to him, is thrown to the background. However, the title of the play is well chosen; Rāma's birth is the *Phala* of Dāśaratha's *Yajña;* Ridding the Āsramas of the menace of the Rākṣasas through Rāma's powers is the *Phala* of Visvamitra's *Yajña;* and Rāma's marriage with Sīta is the *Phala* of Janaka's *Yajna.* The author has stressed this point by using the very word *Yajñaphala* more than half a dozen times during the play.

The play has intrinsic merit, written in a simple language and an elegant style, with homely and appealing conversations. The Prākrit is of a mixed type. The few deviations (except Act VI) are intended to ennoble the character of Daśaratha and Kaikeyi. No occasion is missed throughout to emphasise the superiority of the rural and asramaic life over the urban. The play is full of interest and of a high order. The sixth act of the play appears an imitation of what is most pathetic in Kāḷidasa's Śākuntaḷa. As the entire scene in the said act is quite inappropriate to the trend

of the play, one will be obliged to conclude that the great Kāḷidasa could never have copied from this author almost in toto. No doubt many passages in the play bear resemblance to passages in the works of Māgha, Bhavabhūti and others, but strangely enough the whole of the sixth act of the play is almost a reproduction of the best parts of Kāḷidasa's Śākuntaḷa.

The play does not unfortunately reveal the name of the author. The editor Kāḷidasa Sastri has ascribed it to Bhāsa because the play resembles those of the Trivandrum group, in respect of the prologue. A closer examination reveals the dissimilarities to be too numerous in respect of the peculiar aspects of the Trivandrum plays to conclude that this play also can belong to that group.

The situations in the play are very modern. Sīta and Rāma are made to meet each other for mutual acceptance even before the latter's handling the Śivadhanus. The etiquette amongst people of different social status is different from that depicted in the Trivandrum and other older plays. Further, the second line of verse 40 in Act IV of the play is the same as that of the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the Nātyaśāstra, as Bhāsa's. The verse of Bhāsa mentioned above reads.—

त्रेतायुगं यदि न तद्धि न मैथिली सा
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदुचास्य चेतः ।
लब्ध्वा जनः सपदि रावणमस्य कायं
प्रोत्कृत्य तन्नतिलशो न वितृप्तिमेति ॥

The verse in Yajñaphala is :—

रक्षांसि निर्दय मनांसि महाबलानि
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदुचास्य चेतः ।
सिद्धं कथं भवतु तेऽध्वररक्षणं तत
शक्या हि नैव वनजेन वनाग्नि शान्तिः ॥

A noteworthy point in the above is that the word रागपदवी will have to be construed differently in the two verses and that the sense in the case of the latter is much strained

while the former verse is simple and charming. Hence, one will have to conclude that while the line in question is borrowed by our author, the beauty and sense of it in its proper context is overlooked. As such it might be observed that the above points throw enough light to conclude that the author of the play cannot be Bhāsa and that whoever he may be, he cannot be prior to either Bhasa or Kāḷidasa.

Although the authorship of the play is disputable, the play being of a high order, the editor is to be congratulated in bringing it to light.

S. R.

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NOTES

TIPPU'S KHALIQABAD COINS AND THE MINT

BY G. LAZARUS, B.A., L.T.

ABOUT a century back scholars like William Marsden and Lieut. H. P. Hawkes thought that Khaliqabad which means the City of God was the name given by Tippu to Chandagal, a small village near Seringapatam on the other side of the river Kaveri. Later Dr. Taylor and the historian Mr. Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani have argued that it referred to Dindigul. This argument looks convincing for Khaliqabad coins are obtained in greater numbers in and around Dindigul than in other places. Unlike the coins of the other mints of Tippu, his Khaliqabad coins are rude and rough and contain many blunders in date and legend owing to the fact that the Hindu die cutters were ignorant of Arabic numerals and characters. Mr. J. R. Henderson and other authors mention only four denominations of Khaliqabad coins (1) gold fanam, (2) copper paisa, (3) half paisa, (4) quarter paisa. The paisa, half paisa and quarter paisa weigh 160 grains, 80 grains and 40 grains respectively. The coins bear the dates from Hijiri 1215 to 1218 (1787 to 1790 *A. D.*) The most common, the quarter paisa is of various patterns and bears the date 1225 (mistake for 1215). Some quarter paisas weigh from 40 to 45 grains.

Mr. Henderson and others mention one-eighth paisas having been struck at Pattan, Nagar, Bangalore, Ferrukh-Yab-Hisar, and Salamabad mints, but there is no mention of one-eighth paisa of the Khaliqabad mint. I have with me two one-eighth paisas of the Khaliqabad mint one weighing about 25 grains and the other 20 grains. In the obverse of the former the figure of an elephant advances to right with uplifted tail and the date 7 ١ ٢ ١ (the last numeral being blanked for want of space.) In the other coin the elephant advances to right with the date ٥ 7 ١; to the right of the date and separated from it by the tip of the elephant's tail is the numeral O (the date being an error for ٥ ١ ٢ ١.) The reverse of both the coins bear the usual legend of the Khaliqabad coins.

Syed Sahib a nephew of Mir Sahib who was Haidar's wife's sister's husband had been appointed in the year 1784 as the

Governor of the Dindigul Province which then comprised eighteen poliyams, visited the place in 1788. It was during Syed Sahib's governorship that the coins were struck. From local enquiries and personal observations I have been able to conclude that the mint was at Chinnakalikanpatty a suburb of the present Chinnalapatty village about six miles south-west of Begampur (a suburb of Dindigul) where the Governor had his residence. Chinnakalikanpatty must have been chosen for the minting of coins on account of the copper and gold smiths who were living there in great numbers. One Kamatchi Asari was the mint master and he superintended the striking of coins. They were struck in a specially constructed shed in front of a small Vinayakar temple which is still in existence. The coins were locally known as the Kaliyan or Kallikan kāsu. The one-eighth paisa was popularly designated as the Chinnakaliyan or Chinnakallikan kāsu. The word Chinnalapatty is also derived from the Hindustani word Chinnal (immoral woman). Kalikanpatty village is only three furlongs north of Chinnakalikanpatty and we still find some Dekkani Muhammadan families who are said to have originally come from Chicacole.

The coin which was greatly used in these parts before Kaliyan kāsu was known as the Kollu kāsu. Kollu is the tamil word for horse grain. This name had been given on account of the small size of the coin. It was the old Maisur paisa with a chequered reverse. Most of these chequered reverse coins weigh less than 10 grains. In the obverse of some coins we see the Kanarese numerals. In some we see some dots and other symbols. The Maisur coins that are found in and around Dindigul are comparatively smaller in size than those found in Mysore.

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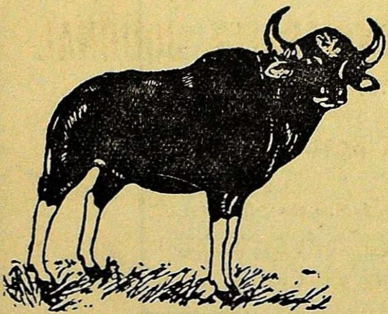

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